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15 June 1982

USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS
(FOUO 19/82)

Speeches at 1981 All-Union Ideological Conference

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[Foreword, speeches and table of contents of book "For the High Quality and Efficacy of Ideological Work," edited by Ye. M. Tyazhel'nikov, Politizdat, 100,000 copies, 576 pages]

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Foreword

[Text] An all-union seminar-conference of ideological workers in which union republic Communist Party central committee, kraykom, obkom and okruzhkom and a number of gorkom secretaries in charge of ideological questions, workers of the political authorities of the Soviet Armed Forces, leaders of ministries and departments, the AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee, central press organs, television and radio, press agencies and creative unions and CPSU Central Committee executives participated was held 20-25 April 1981 in the CPSU Central Committee in Moscow.

The seminar-conference was opened by M.A. Suslov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

The paper "Priority Tasks of Ideological and Political Education Ensuing From the Decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's Report" was delivered by CPSU Central Committee Secretary M.V. Zimyanin.

The following read papers at the seminar-conference: M.S. Gorbachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, B.N. Ponomarev, candidate of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, P.N. Demichev, candidate of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and minister of culture of the USSR, and I.V. Kapitonov, V.I. Dolgikh and K.V. Rusakov, secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee. The seminar-conference was also addressed by V.N. Makeyev and G.I. Marchuk, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers, Academician A.G. Yegorov, director of the CPSU Central Committee's Institute of Marxism-Leninism, USSR ministers M.A. Porokof'yev and V.P. Yelyutin, A.A. Bulgakov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Vocational-Technical Education, Marshal of the Soviet Union, N.V. Ogarkov, chief of the Armed Forces' General Staff and first deputy defense minister of the USSR, S.K. Tsvigun, first deputy chairman of the USSR KGB, and other comrades.

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At plenary sessions and in nine sections the participants in the seminar thoroughly and critically discussed the course of the study and propaganda of the CPSU Central Committee Report and the documents of the 26th party congress and the fulfillment of the CPSU Central Committee decree "A Further Improvement in Ideological and Political Education" and the ways to reorganize ideological work in accordance with the directives of the party congress and the instructions of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Meetings with scholars and leaders of the creative unions and mass information and propaganda media were held.

The participants in the seminar-conference attended a ceremonial meeting devoted to the 111th anniversary of the birth of V.I. Lenin, at which the report "Comparing Ourselves With Lenin, Operating Lenin-Style" was delivered by K.U. Chernenko, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

The participants in the seminar-conference expressed cordial gratitude to the Leninist CPSU Central Committee, Central Committee Politburo and Comrade L.I. Brezhnev for the constant attention to ideological work and the propaganda personnel. They assured the CPSU Central Committee that the party committees would raise the communists, Komsomol members and all working people even more assertively and purposefully in a spirit of communism, Soviet patriotism, the indestructible friendship of the USSR peoples, proletarian internationalism and implacability toward bourgeois ideology, persistently improve ideological-political, labor and moral training and ensure the successful implementation of the historic decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the 11th Five-Year Plan quotas.

This book publishes material of the all-union seminar-conference of ideological workers.

* M.V. Zimyanin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee: "The Priority Tasks of Ideological and Political Education Ensuing From the Decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's Report"

I

The results of the 26th CPSU Congress and the ideas and proposals put forward by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in the Central Committee Report will determine the sociopolitical life of our motherland and have a big impact on all world development. The 26th CPSU Congress again confirmedconvincingly that the creative genius of the Soviet people, led by the Lenin Party, is concentrated on the accomplishment of revolutionary-creative tasks corresponding to the highest interests of Soviet society and all people of our planet--the interests of peace and social progress.

The congress strikingly demonstrated the magnificence of our people's accomplishments in communist building achieved under the leadership of the CPSU and its Central Committee headed by Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, the outstanding continuer of the great Leninist cause.

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The CPSU Central Committee Report collated comprehensively and in depth the multifaceted historical experience of the party and the people. "Evaluating the path that has been trodden," Comrade L.I. Brezhnev declared, "it may be firmly said that the 26th congress correctly determined the main trends and directions of social development. The party's Leninist general line is being confidently implemented; the tasks put forward at the previous congress have, on the whole, been tackled successfully."*

The CPSU Central Committee Report is an outstanding Marxist-Leninist document which makes a new creative contribution to the theory and practice of scientific communism. It determines the main tasks of the country's economic and social development, a constant upsurge in the people's material and cultural living standard and a strengthening of the country's defense might. Its propositions are imbued with concern for the further strengthening of the party, a refinement in the style and methods of party leadership, support for everything new and progressive, the development of criticism and self-criticism, an improvement in ideological and political education and the reorganization of many of its areas and spheres with regard for the demands of the times.

The Peace Program drawn up by the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses was organically continued and further developed and cardinal proposals for the extension of detente and a curbing of the arms race were put forward in the report. The congress again emphasized the CPSU's unshakable fidelity to its internationalist policy and expressed exceptionally forcefully the scrupulousness, consistency and farsightedness of the Leninist foreign policy of the Soviet Union, which marches in the vanguard of the forces of peace and socialism and has managed to defend peace.

The 26th CPSU Congress and our entire party and people approved the CPSU Central Committee Report with tremendous enthusiasm as a combat action program. The ideas of the report and the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress have become the property of the fraternal parties and peoples of the socialist countries, the international communist and workers' movement and all present-day revolutionary, progressive and peace-loving forces, inspiring them in the liberation struggle against imperialism and against all forces of reaction and aggression and for peace and social progress. The 26th party congress gave clear answers to the most pertinent, burning issues of the present day. The congress will go down in the history of our motherland and all mankind as a most important political event of our time.

Currently millions and millions of communists and Soviet people are studying and discussing the documents of the 26th CPSU Congress. The party and the people are demonstrating their unshakable unity and close cohesion around the Leninist CPSU Central Committee and Central Committee Politburo headed by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev. They are expressing unanimous approval and support for the decisions of the congress and profound respect, love and gratitude to Comrade L.I. Brezhnev for the constant fruitful activity for the good of our

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 3.

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motherland and the tremendous contribution to the development and implementation of the domestic and foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state, the development of Marxist-Leninist theory and the struggle for the triumph of peace and communism.

Nationwide socialist competition for the successful fulfillment and overfulfillment of the plan of 1981 and the 11th Five-Year Plan as a whole has spread throughout the country. Splendid initiative was displayed here by the Moscow workers who were delegates to the congress and the working people of Moscow, Leningrad and all the union republics. Over 154 million Soviet people participated in the Lenin communist voluntary Saturday work day on 18 April 1981.

Attaching paramount significance to the further development of socialist competition and its increased role in the accomplishment of tasks of the country's economic and social progress, the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee adopted, as is known, a joint decree in which they called on all party, soviet, trade union, Komsomol and management authorities, taking advantage of the high labor and political enthusiasm of the masses, to direct socialist competition toward the accomplishment of the tasks put forward in the CPSU Central Committee Report to the 26th party congress and the congress' decisions, the successful fulfillment and overfulfillment of the 5-year plan quotas and a further growth of Soviet people's well-being. The competition motto is "Working Efficiently and With High Quality!"

Thus the Soviet people have embarked on realization of the outlines of the 26th CPSU Congress--our Leninist general course for the 1980's. Consolidating and developing the political enthusiasm and creative energy of the people's masses and channeling them into the successful accomplishment of the complex and crucial tasks confronting our motherland at the new frontiers of communist building is a most important task of the party organizations. In the wake of party activist meetings the primary party organizations and labor collectives are everywhere discussing the results of the congress and determining and beginning to implement measures for the successful fulfillment and overfulfillment of the plans of 1981 and the 5-year plan as a whole, the intensification of social production and its increased efficiency and the further refinement of organizing and political work.

Paramount significance is now attached to the active development of organizational and propaganda measures for discussion and study of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's report and other documents and material of the 26th CPSU Congress. The CPSU Central Committee deems it essential that party-political work contribute in every possible way to the implementation of the historic decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, the increased consciousness and labor assertiveness of the communists and all working people and the continued development of nationwide socialist competition and the movement for a communist attitude toward labor.

It is necessary to employ effective forms and methods corresponding to current conditions in this important political work and to conduct propaganda concretely and convincingly, tying it in with the tasks of the labor collectives. It is necessary to strive in the mass information and propaganda media's illustration of cardinal questions of the theory and practice of communist building

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and the foreign policy activity of the CPSU for a rise in the ideological level and efficacy of the speeches and to raise burning questions for discussion more boldly. It is essential that all this work be performed in organic connection with the CPSU Central Committee decree "A Further Improvement in Ideological and Political Education".

The task is to ensure that the work on explaining and propagandizing the documents and material of the 26th CPSU Congress proceed in inseparable unity with all political, organizing and management activity with respect to implementation of the congress' decisions. It is essential to include in it the entire ideological front, the system of party enlightenment and economic education, all forms of mass-political work and the information and propaganda media. The AUCCTU, all ministries and departments, the Komsomol Central Committee, the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, scientific organizations and cultural-educational establishments and the creative unions must play an active part in this work.

It is our task to help all the country's working people comprehend profoundly and in depth the propositions of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's report, the Main Directions of the USSR's Economic and Social Development in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990 and other documents of the congress and the entire content of its work. It is necessary to strive to ensure that every Soviet individual closely link his labor and his participation in social life with the life of the whole party.

Explaining the decisions and documents of the 26th party congress means first of all revealing to the people's masses, each Soviet individual and the whole world the great role of the CPSU--the collective political leader of our people which is confidently leading them toward communism. This means arming Soviet people with a profound understanding of the fact that for our party the good of the people is higher than all else and that its every step is dictated by boundless devotion to the people. The people respond to the party with the profoundest trust and ardent support for its policy. It is essential to continue to strengthen and develop this trust and support in every possible way and constantly rally the people's masses around the party, being guided by the motto: "In unity with the people lies the strength of the party! In unity with the party and its leadership lies the strength of the people!"

We must develop and strengthen in Soviet people profound ideological conviction in the historical rightness and invincibility of the great Leninist cause and tirelessly propagandize the essence, scientific substantiation and noble goals of the CPSU's Leninist policy.

The decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress continue and develop the political and socioeconomic strategy formulated by the 24th and 25th party congresses.

The historic distinctiveness of the 26th party congress is the fact that two decades--the path traversed by the country in the 1970's and the prospects of its further development right up to 1990--were essentially within its purview. This made it possible on the basis of creative Marxism-Leninism to reveal more fully the regularities of mature socialism and the prospects of communist building and analyze in depth the content of the changes occurring in the world.

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Our party, its Central Committee and the Central Committee Politburo headed by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev combine unshakable fidelity to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism with the constant collective development of revolutionary theory based on a comprehensive analysis and consideration of the regularities and trends of social life and the experience of the revolutionary-constructive creativity and initiative of the people's masses. This imparts to the CPSU's theoretical and practical activity the powerful force of historical foresight.

Elaboration of the concept of developed socialism, which has armed the party and the people with a clear understanding of the regularities of the current stage of the Soviet society's development, is a lasting service of our party and its Central Committee. This concept is a brilliant example of the application of the dialectical-materialist method in an analysis of the historical process and new social phenomena. As L.I. Brezhnev observed, "taking this concept as a basis, the party has specified and concretized the paths and specific times of the realization of our program goals and determined the strategy and tactics for a lengthy historical period."* The new USSR Constitution, which is rightly called the constitution of the era of developed socialism, was created on this basis.

The 26th CPSU Congress took a further step forward in the development of the teaching on developed socialism as a necessary, natural and historically lengthy period of the development of the communist formation and on the most important features of social relations at this stage. Comrade L.I. Brezhnev put forward at the congress the important theoretical proposition that the development of a class-free structure of society will occur by and large within the historical framework of mature socialism. This proposition is of paramount significance for the development and implementation of socioeconomic policy for many years ahead.

The 26th CPSU Congress enriched Lenin's teaching on the party and its increasing role in communist building. The analysis of international problems contained in the congress' material and the development of the Peace Program are very important in terms of theoretical content and political relevance.

The impending work on the preparation of changes and amplifications to the current CPSU Program, which the congress entrusted to the party Central Committee, is designed to play a major part in the further creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory. The current program, which determines correctly, as a whole, the regularities of social development and the goals and principal tasks of the struggle of the party and the Soviet people for communism, should reflect the wealth of historical experience accumulated in the last two decades and the new theoretical generalizations based on a profound scientific analysis of the objective changes in the country and abroad. This will make it possible to determine the further paths and the most important tasks of communist building in our country.

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 77.

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The 26th congress is of particular significance for the workers of the ideological front.

The party has posed the question of the need for an all-around qualitative improvement in all ideological and political education and the removal of the existing shortcomings therein. The main areas of the accomplishment of this task were outlined in the CPSU Central Committee decree "A Further Improvement in Ideological and Political Education". The CPSU Central Committee Report to the 26th party congress analyzed critically and in depth the most important questions of ideological work and further developed the fundamental propositions concerning an improvement in communist education under the conditions of developed socialism expressed in recent years by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev in a number of his speeches.

The reasons which prompted the party to raise the question of a qualitative improvement are well known. They were discussed at the congress. They are the changed historical conditions of our reality, the growth of Soviet people's level of education, culture and intellectual requirements and the expansion of the arsenal and material-technical base of our propaganda and, on the other hand, the stimulation of the propaganda media of the class enemy and his increased attempts to exert a corrupting influence on Soviet people's minds.

Comrade L.I. Brezhnev said at the congress: "Is proper account being taken of all these new phenomena and circumstances? Is full use being made of the tremendous possibilities of our propaganda? There can be only one answer to this question: no, not yet.

"Proceeding from this, the party Central Committee has formulated tasks for an improvement in ideological and political education. They are set forth in the CPSU Central Committee decree of 26 April 1979. This is a document of long-term significance.

"It is essentially a question of the reorganization--yes, it is not a slip of the tongue, the reorganization--of many areas and spheres of ideological work. We need to strive to ensure that its content be more relevant and that its forms correspond to Soviet people's current requests and requirements."*

Two years have elapsed since the appearance of the CPSU Central Committee decree "A Further Improvement in Ideological and Political Education". A certain amount of work has been performed on its realization. The party organizations and soviet and management personnel have begun to pay more attention to ideological activity. But we need to be clearly aware that only the first steps have been taken in a refinement of ideological and mass-political work. Manifestations of a certain rupture from practice, a lag behind the course of events, formalism, superficiality, ostentation and cliches, which have rightly been criticized repeatedly and continue to be criticized, have yet to be surmounted in its content and forms.

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 75.

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Fundamental observations on the ways to realize the party's demands and overcome the serious shortcomings in ideological work were expressed by M.A. Suslov at the all-union conference of ideological workers. He recently observed once again that "political-educational and propaganda work is not being reorganized quickly enough and the existing appreciable shortcomings are not being surmounted sufficiently vigorously" and emphasized that the main path of a further increase in the efficacy of propaganda and all educational work is the "consistent strengthening of the connection with practice and the fusion of educational work with the Soviet people's practical activity."*

In developing the exceptionally responsible work on propaganda of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and mobilization of the working people for their practical implementation, which is gigantic in scale, the ideological personnel and all party organizations must at the same time consistently and energetically reorganize ideological, propaganda and agitation work on the basis of the instructions contained in the CPSU Central Committee Report to the congress. In ensuring the active participation of the workers of the ideological front in the accomplishment of the tasks of the party's domestic and foreign policy it is essential to raise to a new, higher qualitative level the entire system of the ideological-political, labor and moral training of the working people in terms of depth, relevance of content and forms of organization.

The good initiative of the Moscow Gorkom, which discussed the course of work on implementation and propaganda of the documents of the 26th party congress, merits support. The decision of the Moscow Gorkom revealed and analyzed the progressive experience of the party organizations of Moscow's Pervomayskiy Rayon, noted the existing shortcomings, emphasized the inseparable connection of the realization of the economic and social tasks put forward by the 26th CPSU Congress and a refinement in ideological and political education and determined concrete measures for its improvement.

The fact that Comrade L.I. Brezhnev paid great attention in the CPSU Central Committee Report to the 26th party congress to questions of ideological activity, expressed fundamental observations with respect to its key problems and highlighted the changes in the life of the country, in the public mind and in the international arena which demand of us work in a new style is of great importance for ideological personnel and the entire party. Permit me on behalf of all ideological workers to express cordial gratitude to L.I. Brezhnev for the remarks and paternal injunctions which he expressed. We are also grateful to M.A. Suslov for the valuable advice given at this conference. We will do everything to justify the party's trust and will concentrate our efforts on ensuring an increase in every possible way in the efficacy of our work in the principal areas of the CPSU's domestic and foreign policy indicated in the historic decisions of its 26th congress.

*PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' No 8, 1981, p 23.

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II

In paving the general route of the country's onward movement toward communism and putting forward the concrete goals and tasks of revolutionary-transforming activity our party proceeds from the fact that they can be realized in practice only given the active support and creative participation of the masses. As V.I. Lenin said, in tackling new social tasks "it is the preparation of precisely the masses which is what is most important from the political viewpoint."*

Mobilization of the masses for implementation of the new plans of communist creation is a most important goal of the CPSU's political education under current conditions. "We wish," L.I. Brezhnev said, "to see party policy blend with the activity of the masses...."**

A central area of our political education is mobilization of the labor energy of the masses for implementation of the CPSU's economic policy. Comrade L.I. Brezhnev pointed out in the CPSU Central Committee Report to the 26th party congress: "Leadership of the economy is the core of the entire activity of party and state. After all, it is precisely in the economic sphere that the foundation of the accomplishment of social tasks and the strengthening of the country's defense capability and the foundation of an active foreign policy is laid. It it precisely here that the necessary prerequisites of Soviet society's successful movement toward communism are created."*** Our propaganda and agitation are called on to provide for the comprehensive, in-depth explanation of the congress' decisions and to struggle actively for their practical implementation.

The basis of all ideological education with respect to implementation of the party's economic policy should be an explanation of its goals and tasks put forward by the 26th CPSU Congress and the ways to achieve them. As is known, the main task of the 11th Five-Year Plan is securing a further growth of Soviet people's well-being based on the steady, ongoing development of the economy, an acceleration of scientific-technical progress and the economy's transition to an intensive path of development, more rational use of the country's production potential, the utmost savings of all types of resources and an improvement in work quality.

This capacious and precise formula contains the continuity and, at the same time, the further development of the basic line of the party's economic policy formulated by the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses--that of the economy's more profound switch to the diverse tasks connected with a rise in the people's well-being. These tasks can only be tackled under current conditions thanks to an appreciable growth of social labor productivity. "Whence the congresses' directive of an emphatic transition to predominantly intensive factors of

*V.I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], vol 42, p 217.
**"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 76.
***Ibid., p 31.

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economic growth--the directive of an upturn in the efficiency and quality of all work. Such is the orientation of the CPSU's economic policy for an extended period."*

The CPSU Central Committee Report and the decisions of the 26th party congress determine the main paths of production intensification. It is primarily a question of making fuller and more efficient use of the powerful production potential which has been created in the country and all the advantages of socialism for the accomplishment of the new tasks in the sphere of the economy and an acceleration of scientific-technical progress and science's integration with production. It is also a question of an improvement in the methods of leadership of the economy, proportionality in the development of the national economy based on a correct system of priorities and of the increased role of the plan as the main instrument of the party's economic policy.

The 26th CPSU Congress pointed out that an unconditional prerequisite of the accomplishment of all national economic tasks--both production and social--is the development of heavy industry, particularly its base sectors--fuel-energy, metallurgy, engineering and others. Major tasks have to be tackled by the construction and transport workers. There is no need, I believe, to emphasize that propaganda should pay paramount attention to these sectors and also the most important territorial-production complexes.

An increase in the efficiency of agricultural production is an urgent task of the 11th Five-Year Plan. The party and the state attach tremendous significance to its further industrialization and material-technical provision and a rise in the standard of farming and animal husbandry and are channeling big capital investments into this. At the same time the center of gravity of agrarian policy is currently shifting to an increase in the return on the capital investments, the growth of agricultural productiveness and the extension and streamlining of its relations with all sectors of the agrarian-industrial complex. The problem of a steep upturn in animal husbandry, which Comrade L.I. Brezhnev termed "the shock front in the countryside,"** moves to the forefront. This is the main prerequisite of the successful implementation of the food program which is being drawn up and the satisfaction of the people's urgent living requirements.

A characteristic feature of the development of the modern Soviet economy is the increased role of the subjective factor. Production intensification and a turnabout toward efficiency and quality largely depend on the ideological-political awareness, professional competence and moral-psychological qualities of the workers, kolkhoz members, technicians, engineers and scientists.

Characterizing questions of leadership of the economy not merely as economic but political and party questions, Comrade L.I. Brezhnev emphasized that mobilization of the creative potential of our entire society is necessary for their

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 31.
*Ibid., p 46.

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solution. At the center and locally and in all cells of the economy there should be increased understanding of the problems which arise and the better detection and use of available potential. The party's entire political, organizing and educational work is being geared to this currently. The propaganda front and the mass information media are called on to ensure constant illustration of the progress of the struggle for the realization of economic policy, the utmost support for those who are the first to reach the highest frontiers, the propaganda and introduction of their progressive experience, an extensive demonstration of the new forms of the organization of labor and management and an emphatic struggle against everything which slows and holds back production intensification.

A powerful accelerator of our forward movement in all spheres of the economy was and remains socialist competition. Having determined thegeneral economic strategy and urgent national economic problems of the 11th Five-Year Plan, the 26th party congress thereby also pointed to the main spheres of application of the people's creative forces and the main areas of socialist competition. Whatever area of the party's economic policy we take, competition is now an effective means of the combination of policy and the creativity of the masses everywhere. Policy goals are realized in the practical deeds of the labor collectives.

We have many splendid initiatives of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and the intelligentsia in socialist competition which demand attention and propaganda support. Thus many labor collectives have responded with concrete socialist pledges to the party's appeal for the utmost intensification of the practice of economies and an increase in the manufacture of the end product from available resources. We need to disseminate more extensively the experience of the labor collectives of the Ukraine and Chelyabinskaya, Sverdlovskaya and Kemerovskaya oblasts of economies in metal and fuel-energy resources and the compilation and realization of personal savings accounts and personal thrift plans.

We have fine examples of the integration of science and production and the creative cooperation of the scientists and production workers--the ZIL in Moscow, the LOMO and "Elektrosila" in Leningrad, the Institute imeni Ye.O. Paton in Kiev and many others. The 26th CPSU Congress directed the scientists and engineering-technical personnel toward the further development of this cooperation and the joint realization of goal-oriented comprehensive programs. The propaganda workers should support and disseminate good experience to the utmost, the more so in that, as said at the congress, we still frequently encounter impermissible dilatoriness in the assimilation of promising developments.

Or to take such a key problem as an increase in work quality. The 26th CPSU Congress posed the question of ensuring that the manufactured product conform to the best world and national models. Practice suggests specific paths of struggle for the accomplishment of this goal. It is necessary to continue work on the dissemination and enrichment of the L'vov experience of product quality control, the patriotic initiatives "The Official Symbol of Quality on Every New Product" and "High Quality--From the Plan Through the Product" and the initiatives of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes of Krasnodarskiy Kray and Dnepropetrovskaya Oblast for an improvement in the quality of agricultural products.

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A number of factors complicating economic development will be operating in the 1980's, as is known. One such is a decline in the rate of increase in labor resources. In this connection importance is attached to the initiative of the working people of Yaroslavskaya Oblast, which has been approved by the CPSU Central Committee, for the achievement of an increase in industrial production in the 11th Five-Year Plan without an increase in the number of workers. The Shchekino and Dinamo methods of an increase in labor productivity, the brigade contract and multiple machine-tool servicing, which have been verified by practice, should be propagandized and introduced more energetically.

The party and the state are exerting much effort to make man's labor not only more productive but also meaningful, interesting and creative. The liquidation of manual, unskilled and heavy physical labor is designed to play an important part here. But we still have millions of people employed in this. This is not only an economic but also serious social problem. The implementation of comprehensive programs for a reduction in manual labor and the comprehensive use of local potential, small mechanization facilities and so forth is called on to contribute to its solution. The movement "Manual Labor on Machinery's Shoulders," which has spread following the initiative of collectives of Zaporozhskaya Oblast, is aimed at this, for example. Implementation of all these initiatives--and they are of very high social significance--should constantly be within the sights of our newspapers and journals, radio and television and all ideological workers.

Such a splendid movement as the competition among related subcontractors is helping us to achieve the concerted operation of interconnected components of the national economy. It is necessary to popularize more extensively the experience of cooperation of enterprises of the extractive and processing sectors of industry, the labor collectives participating in the installation of the Sayano-Shushenskaya and Nurek GES's, the Kama Truck Plant and the "Atommash" Plant in accordance with the "Worker Relay" principle; the workers of the Leningrad Transport Terminal on the precise interaction and coordination of the activity of all forms of transport; and the workers of agriculture and light, textile and other sectors of industry in accordance with the "contract of thousands".

Socialist competition is vital creativity of the masses themselves. Its main enemies are sluggishness, formalism and show. The 26th CPSU Congress pointed to the need for the further development of the democratic principles and extensive publicity of competition. Fulfillment of this task is a vital concern of propaganda and agitation and an important field of the application of their tremendous power. Not only regular information on the course and results of competition but also the development of its creative spirit and the working people's practical preparation for active participation in labor rivalry depend on the level and drive of propaganda. The experience of the propagandists of Moscow and Ivanovskaya, Sverdlovskaya and other oblasts of rendering the working people practical assistance in the development of counterplans, socialist pledges and personal savings accounts deserves to be disseminated in this connection.

Tremendous experience of socialist competition has been accumulated in all the country's union republics. Particular mention should be made of the role of

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competition in the struggle for grain in Kazakhstan and cotton and other agricultural products in Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan. These republics made a fitting contribution to the people's labor accomplishments in the 10th Five-Year Plan.

While paying tribute to the successes in the development of socialist competition and the accumulated experience of ideological work in the sphere of the party's economic policy it has to be acknowledged that our propaganda and mass-political work in this field is still far from perfection. This applies primarily to such a most important question as the dissemination and introduction of progressive experience.

Seminars and scientific-practical conferences are being conducted and schools of progressive experience are being organized in many republics, krays and oblasts on the basis of collectives which are socialist competition winners, including those which received greetings from Comrade L.I. Brezhnev. But their activity is as yet being illustrated in insufficient depth in the press, in television and radio broadcasts, in lectures and talks and at classes in the economic education system.

In order for the record to become the norm and progressive experience to become common property a simple description thereof is not enough, a comprehensive system of work is needed. Such a system has been created, for example, in Donetskaya Oblast. A unified system of the plan-oriented study, collation and dissemination of progressive experience has also been developed at progressive textile industry enterprises in Ivanovskaya Oblast. These valuable initiatives merit support.

A principal factor currently impeding our further advance is the force of inertia and the traditions and customs which took shape at the time when it was not so much the qualitative as the quantitative aspect which was of paramount importance in the economy. The intensification of social production requires a fundamental change in the economic thinking and the mentality of the production workers and managers. A particular role in the realization of such a turnabout in the public mind belongs to the system of economic education.

Real universal economic education has been created in the country in recent years. In the 10th Five-Year Plan approximately 34 million persons studied problems of labor efficiency, and 21 million progressive production experience. But for skillful management under current conditions the rudiments of economic learning are not enough. The system of economic education is now embarking on a qualitatively new stage of development. It is a question not only of the organization of economic studies for those who essentially lack primary economic education (and there are approximately 20 million such people in the country). The main thing is raising appreciably the level of economic knowledge of the main worker and specialist personnel and stressing the mastery of concrete methods of the intensification of production and its increased efficiency. The system of economic education, as also the press and radio and television broadcasts, describe pretty well what such intensification means, but are as yet showing inadequately how to implement it in practice. It is really necessary in this sense to ascend to a new qualitative level in our propaganda.

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Concern for an increase in theoretical knowledge should be organically combined with the fostering of the most important social attributes--diligence, a sense of responsibility, a proprietorial attitude toward public property and an ability to make full and expedient use of all that the country possesses.

The party pays great attention to the strengthening of discipline: state, plan and labor. The CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, USSR Council of Ministers and AUCCTU decree "A Further Strengthening of Labor Discipline and a Reduction in Personnel Turnover in the Economy," which is aimed at securing high organization at all levels and in all areas of work, an improvement in work conditions and the retention and best use of the personnel, was adopted in 1980. A certain amount of work has been done to implement the measures it stipulates. But the scale and pace of this work are inadequate.

Breaches of discipline here are, unfortunately, still a frequent phenomenon. We must strive for a perceptible breakthrough in public opinion's attitude toward idlers and violators of production and plan discipline. And the management, soviet and party leaders must, of course, set an example of responsibility and an example of discipline. This directive of the 26th CPSU Congress must be implemented universally and constantly.

It needs to be emphasized more persistently in propaganda that the people's well-being depends primarily on the results of everyone's labor. Socialism creates the conditions for a new attitude toward labor. But they do not, of course, set an example of responsibility and an exmaple of discipline. This directive of the 26th CPSU Congress must be implemented universally and constantly.

It needs to be emphasized more persistently in propaganda that the people's well-being depends primarily on the results of everyone's labor. Socialism creates the conditions for a new attitude toward labor. But they do not, of course, work of their own accord, automatically. It is important to show in educational work that man's attitude toward labor determines his position and authority in our society. It is important to explain not only man's rights to work and the choice of occupation but also actively mold an understanding of the general obligatoriness of conscientious labor.

Labor--its quantity and quality--is the main criterion of distribution under socialism. It is important to increase the educational impact of the material and moral incentives to labor. Comrade L.I. Brezhnev pointed out: "It is necessary to encourage conscientious workers in every possible way and leave shirkers and those who do shoddy work no loopholes for the good life while performing useless work. Whoever wishes to live better must work more and better."* This formula determines a most important direction of all ideological education.

The 26th party congress put forward a wide-ranging program of a further upsurge in the people's well-being. It encompasses an improvement in all aspects of Soviet people's life--consumption and housing, culture and recreation and work and social conditions. An appreciable growth in the social consumption

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 59.

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funds is planned. The party is displaying particular concern for an improvement in the material living conditions of the low-income categories of working people, pensioners and trainees, mothers and Great Patriotic War veterans. The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decrees "Measures To Increase State Assistance to Families With Children" and "Measures To Further Improve the Population's Social Security" are, inter alia, aimed at this.

The party's economic policy carries a tremendous ideological-educational, moral charge. After all, it is from start to finish, as Comrade L.I. Brezhnev said at the congress, "concrete concern for the concrete individual and his needs and requirements...."* Explanation of its humanistic and profoundly popular essence is an important condition of every person's awareness of the goal and purpose of the intensification of production and the need for intensive work and a creative attitude toward labor.

The efforts of the party committees, ideological establishments, the entire multimillion-strong army of ideological workers and all state and management authorities should be geared to ensuring the fusion in one of the party's economic policy and the creativity, initiative and energy of the masses and the unswerving progress of our society along the path of the working people's increased well-being and the creation of the material-technical base of communism.

III

A most important characteristic of the current stage of the Soviet society's development is the increasingly close interconnection of the progress of the economy and sociopolitical and spiritual progress. This proposition, which was advanced at the 26th CPSU Congress, is of tremendous theoretical and practical significance. Our economic achievements are being materialized in the sociopolitical sphere, and the conditions are being created which contribute to the strengthening of the socialist way of life and the all-around development of the personality. The vital buttress of Marxist-Leninist ideology and communist ideals is thereby taking even firmer shape and our positions in the ideological struggle are being strengthened.

It is important to comprehensively reveal the essence of the CPSU's social policy in the process of ideological education, precisely tune the goals of our propaganda and agitation with society's actual potential and not to become divorced from the life of the masses. Propaganda should take account of the shifts in the social structure and in social relations. We should remember that the very implementation of social policy depends to a decisive extent on the awareness, organization and activeness of the masses, that is, on human, subjective factors.

The historic significance of the 26th CPSU Congress is determined, in particular, by the fact that problems of social development under the conditions of mature socialism were examined at it so thoroughly, in such depth and so

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 49.

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comprehensively for the first time. The entire CPSU Central Committee Report to the 26th party congress is imbued with the ideas of a scientifically substantiated and profoundly popular social policy. It examines the main social issues and notes the social aspects of the development of the economy, science and technology, education and culture and services and everyday life. And everywhere there is emphasis on the profound interconnection of the party's socioeconomic policy with the development of the consciousness of the masses, the formation of the new man and with ideological education. The fundamentally important proposition that "successful education is ensured only when it is based on the firm foundation of socioeconomic policy"* was formulated. Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's report and the Main Directions present the concrete, comprehensive program of the party's social policy under the conditions of developed socialism.

Ideological work connected with the implementation of this policy and the important decisions adopted by the 26th CPSU Congress is no easy matter. Many questions are being raised for the first time, which demands a quest for suitable forms and methods of work and high responsibility in the determination of the ideological content of the appropriate propaganda speeches. After all, it is a question of problems which affect the immediate interests of individual people and whole social, professional and national groups, including aspects of life in which there is still much incomplete business of all kinds.

All the evaluations, conclusions and recommendations in complex issues of class and national relations should conform precisely to the fundamental propositions of party documents, the decisions of party congresses and Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's instructions. Any inaccuracies, exaggerations or distortions are impermissible here.

Fundamental significance from the viewpoint of theory, policy and education is attached to the conclusion of the 26th CPSU Congress that the development of a class-free structure of society will occur by and large within the historical framework of mature socialism. At the center of this process, as its leading force, was and remains the working class, whose revolutionary ideology and morality and collectivist mentality and whose interests and ideals are now becoming the property of all strata of our society. There ensues from this the need for an increasingly profound and detailed analysis of society's social structure and the planning and implementation of social policy. We must now pay attention not only to interclass relations but also intraclass and other differences, a consideration of which is essential to ensure the even greater strengthening of our society's ideological-political, social and international cohesion and its movement toward social homogeneousness.

The 26th party congress observed with satisfaction the unswerving strengthening of the fraternal friendship of the peoples of our multinational motherland and the equalization of the levels of development of the Soviet republics and showed that a task of historic importance--liquidation of the economic backwardness of the national outlying areas--has been accomplished successfully.

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 63.

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"The unity of the Soviet nations is stronger today than ever," Comrade L.I. Brezhnev said. "This does not mean, of course, that all questions in the sphere of national relations have already been resolved. The dynamics of the development of such a large multinational state as ours engender many problems requiring the party's responsive attention."* And we must spot these problems in good time, draw the correct conclusions from them and take them into consideration in our policy and ideological and cultural work.

Let us take, for example, such a question as migration of the population. Millions of people change their place of residence annually, and many of them move from one republic to another. All this gives rise not only to economic and social problems but also problems of the ideological, educational sphere. This is something for the mass information media, propagandists, science and arts figures and cultural workers to work on. A broad spectrum of problems of patriotic and international education, primarily of the youth, is also confronting us in connection with the implementation of the large-scale programs of the lifting of the nonchernozem and the intensive industrial development of areas of Siberia, the Far East and the North.

The friendship of the USSR peoples is a great sociopolitical conquest of Soviet society. An all-Soviet, all-people patriotism has been established in the minds of our people. It incorporates fidelity to revolutionary ideals, service for the good of our great fatherland, an awareness of responsibility for its future and selfless devotion to the great cause of the Communist Party. We must do everything to contribute to the preservation and multiplication of this priceless property. "Our country," Comrade L.I. Brezhnev said, "respects the national sentiments and national dignity of each individual. The CPSU has fought and always will fight resolutely against such manifestations as nationalism or chauvinism, which are alien to the nature of socialism, and against all nationalist quirks, whether, say, anti-Semitism or Zionism. We oppose trends toward the artificial effacement of national singularities. But we consider their artificial exaggeration equally impermissible. It is the party's sacred duty to raise the working people in a spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism and a proud feeling of belonging to the single great Soviet motherland."** A broad front of ideological-political work opens before us in connection with the approach of the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR. This is a splendid reason to once again reveal convincingly and in depth our achievements and the fruits of Lenin's nationality policy and to stimulate activity even more with respect to the inculcation of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism.

But in revealing the Soviet system's tremendous achievements in the social and spiritual spheres it is necessary to look at things soberly and to show life as it is, including its objective contradictions, difficulties of growth and mistakes and incomplete business. We must develop extensively the struggle

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 56.
**Ibid., p 57.

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against such negative phenomena as egoism and philistinism, graft, bureaucratism, indifference to the people's concerns and affairs, drunkenness, parasitism and bribe-taking and against a variety of infringements of the law and all antisocial manifestations. Struggle against the antipodes of communist morals and the socialist way of life is a principal direction of the party's social policy. The eradication of such negative phenomena depends to a decisive extent on how seriously attention is paid to combating them, the further strengthening of socialist legality and a refinement of social and, in particular, distributive relations, an objective and fair evaluation of each person's labor and the closure of all channels of access to undeserved benefits. It is clear that an active and very responsible role belongs to ideological and political education in the accomplishment of this task. The mass information media and the entire system of verbal agitation and propaganda must wage a tireless struggle against negative phenomena. And it is necessary to wage it constantly, displaying persistence, consistency and, if you wish, courage.

Another aspect of this problem is the formation from the first steps of man's conscious life of his intelligent requirements and interests and his ability to make his claims on society and his requests commensurate with his labor contribution. Both the help of science and the high assertiveness of our propaganda are required here.

The 26th CPSU Congress paid great attention to questions of the development of the Soviet political system and socialist democracy on the basis of the USSR Constitution, including the activity of the soviets of people's deputies, people's control and the judicial, court, prosecutor's office and Soviet militia authorities. A high evaluation was made of the work of the state security authorities.

The congress expressed confidence that our valorous armed forces, which are distinguished by a high degree of provision with equipment, military skill and indestructible morale, would continue to reliably stand on guard of the Soviet people's peaceful creative labor.

Comrade L.I. Brezhnev put forward new tasks of a refinement in the activity of the Soviet trade unions and the Komsomol, concentrating their attention on the need for even more active participation in communist building and the inculcation in Soviet citizens, particularly the younger generation, of communist conviction, love of labor and the ability to work, Soviet patriotism and internationalism and a readiness for defense of the motherland. It is necessary to continue to enrich and develop the heroic revolutionary, combat and labor traditions of the party and people in every possible way and raise the people on the instances of heroism and innovation which are being engendered constantly in the course of communist building.

The Soviet press, television and radio, the publishing houses and all workers of the ideological front must in the light of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress increase their attention to questions of the Soviet society's sociopolitical and spiritual development and approach from consistently Leninist standpoints the accomplishment of the tasks of the party's social policy and Soviet people's ideological-political, labor and moral training.

Among these tasks much importance is attached to the further upsurge of Soviet science, education, health care, culture, literature and art.

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The 26th CPSU Congress noted the successes of Soviet science, which occupies leading positions in the most important branches of learning. Major discoveries have been made in the fundamental and applied sciences, and the most modern sectors of production have been developed and our ideas about the regularities of social development have been extended with the help of science. At the same time the congress also pointed directly to the shortcomings which still exist in the organization of scientific research, particularly in the sphere of the practical use of scientific-technical achievements.

Comrade L.I. Brezhnev set the task of science's close integration with production and expressed confidence that the scientific and engineering-technical personnel and the leaders of sectors and works would prove up to this demand. This is now a most important area of our entire activity. It requires close attention, leadership and supervision on the part of the party committees and the active participation of the mass information media in propaganda of the achievements of science and its tasks and the utmost contribution to the introduction of its achievements in production.

The party attaches paramount significance to the development of the social sciences. The congress noted the achievements of the social sciences and also drew attention to their shortcomings. A study of the new phenomena of life is lacking, superficial works constructed mainly on a repetition of truisms are at times substituted for a study of the deep-lying processes of socio-economic development and a penchant for scholasticism has yet to be overcome in the social sciences. Proceeding from the urgent tasks of communist building, Comrade L.I. Brezhnev drew social scientists' attention to the need for increased attention to a study of problems connected with questions of an increase in production efficiency and the social consequences of the scientific-technical revolution and a more thorough, in-depth analysis of other phenomena of economic and political life and to questions of the introduction of scientific and technical achievements in the economy.

Social scientists, particularly those studying present-day Soviet society, must comprehend the remarks addressed to them in depth and draw immediate conclusions. At the same time we must give them practical assistance. It is necessary to tie in social science studies more closely with the work of management, soviet and ideological organizations and contribute to the development of research which contains an in-depth comprehensive analysis of socio-economic processes necessary for the adoption of political decisions.

The 1970's were marked by a qualitative leap forward in the development of public education. Judge for yourselves: 83 million persons have acquired complete secondary education altogether since the war, of whom 45 million, that is, more than half, acquired such in the last two 5-year plans. The problem of the quality of tuition and training and the strengthening of the school's ties with practice is being moved to the forefront currently. The overall indicators must not blunt the vigilance of the teachers and communists of the school. "The main thing now," Comrade L.I. Brezhnev observed, "is to raise the quality of tuition and labor and moral training in the school,

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dispense with formalism in evaluating the results of the teachers' and students' labor, strengthen tuition's practical ties to life and improve schoolchildren's preparation for socially useful labor."*

The party organizations and mass information and propaganda media must increase attention to ensuring that the serious shortcomings in the activity of the school be overcome more quickly. The 26th CPSU Congress insistently demanded the increased efficacy of the work on the youth's vocational guidance and that the efficiency of the school's work be evaluated by proceeding from the extent to which the students' general education and moral-political training corresponds to the requirements of the society of developed socialism. The 26th CPSU Congress emphasized, and this needs to be taken into consideration in propaganda, that the decisive role in an improvement in the entire business of the tuition and communist upbringing of the younger generation belongs to the teacher and instructor, to whom special attention needs to be paid.

The congress put forward crucial new tasks in the sphere of a further refinement in the system of vocational-technical education and an improvement in the training of skilled workers. It is planned to considerably expand the network of its educational institutions in 1981-1985 and increase the graduation of skilled workers to 13 million. Propaganda and information media workers are called on to contribute actively to the further development of the vocational-technical education system and the increased qualitative level of its activity.

An ever increasing influence on the acceleration of scientific-technical progress is being exerted by the higher school. A further rise in the quality of teaching and ideological-political training in the VUZ's, the strengthening of their ties to production, science and the practice of communist building and the fuller development and use of scientific potential--such is our most important task in this sphere. It is essential to continue to perfect the educational process and actively mold in the student body a communist world outlook and a sense of public duty. The practice of communist building today requires skilled specialists with high Marxist-Leninist training, who think creatively and who are capable of participating actively in scientific-technical progress and making and implementing the optimum scientific, engineering and organizational decisions.

Literature and art occupy an important place in the system of the party's ideological activity. We possess the unique, constantly growing potential of the multinational Soviet culture. This is the fruit of the labor and talent of many generations. The 26th CPSU Congress set as a principal task the more efficient use of this entire wealth in our ideological-political work, the formation of public awareness and the assertion of communist ideals and moral standards. The CPSU proceeds here from the objective fact of the growth of people's intellectual requirements and the increased role of artistic culture in the life of society. Soviet people's tremendous interest in artistic creativity is a notable feature of our country's cultural life and one of its leading gains.

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 60.

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The in-depth analysis of the state and development of the current literary-artistic process contained in the report to the 26th CPSU Congress showed that our art is faithfully reflecting the key problems of our time. In L.I. Brezhnev's evocative expression, "a new tidal wave is rising"* and many gifted works, and in all republics, moreover, have been created therein. The all-union writers', artists' and composers' congresses and the writers' congresses in the union republics which have been held strikingly attest the consolidation of the Soviet creative intelligentsia and its cohesion around the party. The high evaluation of the activity of the artistic intelligentsia in the last 5-year period expressed at the 26th party congress has evoked in cultural figures a new upsurge of social and creative activeness.

It is necessary to consolidate and multiply all that is valuable and promising that has been done in the artistic study of life and the establishment of communist ideals. The real achievements of Soviet art are directly dependent on how consistently it proceeds from such fundamental principles as party-mindedness, popular spirit and a class approach to evaluations of life's phenomena. Inaccuracy in ideological punctuation and a superficial or one-sided illustration of the processes occurring in society are only capable of damaging the artist's creativity.

Much depends on the social climate in the artistic intelligentsia environment. It is a question of increased professional exactingness and an intolerance of vapidity and featurelessness in art. Criticism and the fiction and poetry journals, which influence the content and thrust of creativity to a large extent, are called on to adopt a more assertive position here. The party organizations must improve ideological-political work among the creative intelligentsia in every possible way and increase the world-outlook, methodological armament of the masters of Soviet literature and art.

The 26th party congress directed the party authorities, cultural establishments and creative unions toward the creation of a propitious atmosphere, a sensitive, respectful attitude toward talent and, at the same time, implacability toward all manifestations of a lack of progressive ideas, world-outlook indiscriminateness and political myopia. It is necessary to emphasize the great significance of the 26th party congress' instruction concerning the need to react assertively and high-mindedly to the appearance of works discrediting Soviet reality. Here we must be irreconcilable. The party has not been nor can it be indifferent to the ideological thrust of our art.

It is also necessary to consider that in recent years reactionary imperialist circles and foreign special services have been employing increasingly insidious methods of the corruption and bribery of certain politically and morally unstable cultural workers, not stopping short at dirty provocations. High vigilance and resolution are therefore particularly necessary now in the struggle against the intrigues of the class enemy.

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*See "Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 61.

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The consistency of the Leninist party line in cultural policy is ensuring new successes in the development of the multinational Soviet culture, which is exerting a tremendous influence on the development of all world culture.

IV

In his closing speech at the 26th CPSU Congress Comrade L.I. Brezhnev concisely expressed the very essence of the revolutionary-transforming activity of the Communist Party and the Soviet people. "We intend to concentrate all our forces," he said, "in two interconnected areas. One is communist creation, the other the consolidation of peace."*

The USSR's foreign policy is a class-based and profoundly humane policy. It expresses the Soviet people's vital interests. At the same time its goals--peace and the security of the peoples--correspond to the interests of all mankind.

The work of our mass information media and the entire system of propaganda and agitation should be geared to active explanation of the foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state and organized in a spirit of consistent struggle for the implementation of this policy. The problems and proposals put forward in the CPSU Central Committee Report to the 26th party congress and its evaluation of the current stage of world development and the particular features of the international situation should be at the center of attention.

The report showed convincingly the growth of the might, activeness and authority of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community; and the new victories won by the peoples in the struggle against imperialism and the forces of reaction and the further intensification of the general crisis of capitalism. It revealed the complex nature of world events and brought to light with exhaustive clarity the reasons for the exacerbation of the international situation on the eve and at the outset of the 1980's brought about by U.S. imperialism and its accomplices, which are endeavoring to return the world to the atmosphere of the "cold war" and speed up the arms race, attempting to achieve military superiority over the USSR and the socialist community countries.

The CPSU is making consistent efforts to remove the threat of war, curb the arms race and preserve and extend detente. This determined the proposals put forward by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev at the congress with respect to cardinal questions of ensuring international and European security--peace-loving proposals which signpost the paths of a just solution of most important international problems. They contain initiatives on reducing nuclear and conventional types of weapon and ground, naval and air forces and express a readiness to continue talks with the United States on limiting strategic arms and reducing them on the basis, of course, of equality and equal security. These proposals reveal the prospects for the continuation and extension of international detente and an improvement in the situation in Europe and the Near, Middle and Far East.

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 217.

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The 26th CPSU Congress proposed the creation of an authoritative international committee of prominent scientists which would show the vital need to prevent a nuclear catastrophe. Tremendous importance is attached to the proposal for the convening of a special UN Security Council session with the participation of the top leaders of the council's members and also, if desired, the leaders of other states for the purpose of searching for clues to an improvement in the international situation and the prevention of war. The Soviet proposals for strengthening international security and limiting the arms race put forward earlier remain valid here.

Foreign politicians and mass information media have with good reason termed these proposals the "program of a peace offensive". "All these proposals," Comrade L.I. Brezhnev said, "are united by a single goal and our single common aspiration—to do everything possible to extricate the peoples from the threat of nuclear war and preserve peace in this world. They are, if you wish, an organic continuation and development of our Peace Program as applied to the most burning, urgent problems of international life in our day."*

The results of the 26th CPSU Congress and the general interest in the world in the Soviet peace proposals demonstrate in reality once again that the initiative in world politics remains, under the new, considerably complicated conditions also, with the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries. The CPSU and the Soviet state will continue to pursue this high-minded policy, at the same time rebuffing the aggressive aspirations of the forces of imperialist reaction and war. It is essential to ruthlessly expose those apologies for politicians and ideologists who attempt to attribute to our restraint and readiness to negotiate virtually a fear of the "hard" line of the new American Administration. Everyone who is conversant with history knows that attempts to talk to us in the language of threat and ultimatum have never succeeded for anyone. The might of our great motherland is indestructible, and we can stand up for ourselves and our friends.

From positions of unbending confidence in the historical rightness of our cause and a profound interest in securing peaceful conditions for communist creation and the strengthening of universal security the congress proclaimed: "There is now no more important task internationally for our party, our people and all peoples of the world than the defense of peace."**

The creative energy and professional skill of our journalists, propagandists, agitators and political information workers should be geared to a contrasting juxtaposition of the two opposite directions in world politics: the consistently peace-loving policy of the USSR and its allies and the aggressive policy of reactionary imperialist circles, primarily in the United States, and also their accomplices in Beijing, who are possessed by malicious anti-Sovietism and great-power-chauvinist, expansionist aspirations.

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*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," pp 30-31.
**Ibid., p 31.

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It is necessary to pay constant and unremitting attention to an explanation of the Soviet Union's political course in respect of the socialist countries, which is aimed at the strengthening and cohesion of the fraternal peoples, parties and states, the further improvement and development of their all-around cooperation, the joint solution of problems arising in the course of socialist and communist building and the strenghtening of the socialist community's defense capability and international positions. Friendship, cooperation and mutual understanding with the socialist countries has always been, is now and will remain the cornerstone of Soviet foreign policy.

It is further necessary to show our party's high-minded policy of the development of the USSR's cooperation with the emergent countries and the consolidation of the alliance of world socialism and the national liberation movement. As the CPSU Central Committee Report to the 26th party congress observed, "these countries differ greatly. Following liberation, some of them embarked on the revolutionary-democratic path. In others capitalist relations were established. Some of them are pursuing a genuinely independent policy, others are today following in the channel of the policy of imperialism. In a word, it is quite a motley picture."* An attentive attitude toward different Asian, African and Latin American countries, considered appraisals of the changes occurring in them and accuracy and realism in the illustration of their policy from Marxist-Leninist, class standpoints are required of propaganda workers.

An important task of party propaganda is the portrayal of our country's invariable aspiration to the development of relations of peace and cooperation with capitalist states on the basis of Lenin's principles of peaceful coexistence and at the same time a firm rebuff of imperialism's aggressive intrigues. The corroboration of this constructive line by the 26th CPSU Congress and the general tone of its work, which contrasted sharply with the fiercely militarist, inflammatory statements of the Washington Administration, have exerted a profound influence on people's minds in all parts of the world.

The congress also armed our propaganda and agitation with clear-cut ideological-political principles in such an important area of the CPSU's international activity as the further extension and intensification of all-around cooperation with the world's communist and workers' parties. The CPSU is channeling efforts toward the cohesion of the world communist movement on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and toward cooperation with all progressive forces advocating peace and democracy and defense of the working people's interests. Comrade L.I. Brezhnev termed as a great unifying principle and a powerful factor of the further cohesion and growth of the authority of the world communist movement the communists' struggle for peace and against the aggressive policy of imperialism and the arms race, which threatens the peoples with nuclear catastrophe.**

Our party's honest and high-minded line in questions of international politics has encountered understanding and broad support worldwide. "The CPSU Congress,"

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 11.
**Ibid., p 18.

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H. Mies said in his speech at a German Communist Party Board plenum, "is a tremendous school of proletarian internationalism and a source of inspiration for the entire international communist and workers' movement.... The USSR's proposals correspond to the interests of all peoples, including the FRG people."

Our party has always organized and continues to organize the business of communist education inside the country in an inseparable connection with the struggle against bourgeois, petit bourgeois, reformist and revisionist ideology in the international arena. The need for the organic unity of these two aspects of the party's ideological activity is particularly obvious in our day, under the conditions of the sharp exacerbation of the ideological struggle and when imperialist reaction is conducting real "psychological warfare" against the socialist countries.

We must constantly remember that questions are currently at the center of the ideological confrontation which have been posed by real socialism for the first time. These are questions of social justice and political democracy, man's social liberation and spiritual emancipation and the use of the achievements of scientific-technical progress in the interests of working mankind, the liquidation of all forms of national and racial oppression and the planet's salvation from the threat of a thermonuclear catastrophe.

The strategic initiative in the present-day ideological struggle is firmly in the hands of the international working class and its political vanguard. Armed with the teaching of Marxism-Leninism, the communists see more profoundly and correctly than anyone else the essence and prospects of the processes occurring in the world and are drawing the correct conclusions from this for their struggle for the interests of the working class and the working people of all countries and for democracy, peace and socialism. The positive example of socialist and communist building and the historic achievements of the peoples of the socialist countries is of tremendous magnetic force.

"But our successes," Comrade L.I. Brezhnev said in his Prague speech at the 16th Czechoslovak Communist Party Congress, "are giving our class enemies no rest. They are trying to do everything to impede socialism's forward movement and erode it from within. All means--economic pressure and blackmail, false propaganda, flattery and demagogy, the support and encouragement of counter-revolutionary forces--where they still exist--and various acts of subversion --are being set in motion for this."*

It would be an unforgiveable mistake to underestimate the influence of the ideology and propaganda of imperialism, the might of its propaganda machinery and its endeavor to utilize increasingly new means in the struggle against socialism. Historical experience shows that imperialist ideologists are incapable of putting forward progressive social ideas. But bourgeois ideology and propaganda rely on the actual political and economic domination of the monopolies in the capitalist countries and the official apparatus of

*PRAVDA 8 April 1981.

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We must discern in practice and actively support and develop forms of propaganda and agitation which help us place at the center of attention topical questions which are of interest to people, afford freedom for them to express their judgments or exchange opinions, enrich people's thinking, foster in them an awareness of their duty to society and help convert words into real deeds. These are the forms which we should seek, verify in practice and then introduce extensively. It is now particularly important to support forms of mass-political work which, actively intruding in the economy, stimulate people to work better and direct agitators toward a struggle for the strengthening of labor discipline and economies and thrift at each place of work.

Political work in the masses should not be enclosed within the walls of an enterprise, establishment or educational institution. It must also be conducted at the population's place of residence and, of course, in its specific forms. There are many examples of the good organization of such work, but there is not as yet a precise, concerted system. It is at people's place of residence that political agitation is in many places performed only occasionally. The party organizations, local soviets and trade union and Komsomol organizations of the labor collectives must tackle the solution of these questions in earnest. We need to convert the residential neighborhoods and centers of population into zones where agitation and cultural-educational work are actively combined. Attention should be paid primarily to an improvement therein in the youth hostels.

The measures for an improvement in ideological work also presuppose a refinement of atheistic education. The facts testify that there has been a pronounced increase in foreign anti-Soviet clerical propaganda. In a number of places clergymen and sectarians are attempting to increase their influence on believers and extend it to children and young people. Individual fanatics and extremists are making use of illegal methods here. It is essential to perform atheistic work persistently and patiently, propagandize a materialist world outlook and communist morality among all groups of the working people and introduce socialist traditions and rituals in people's life and practice.

Cultural-educational establishments and sports societies and organizations are called on to make their contribution to ideological activity. A great deal of, as a whole, fruitful work has been performed recently on the centralization of clubs and libraries and the creation of cultural complexes in urban areas and in the countryside. However, certain questions in this sphere have not yet been solved. The quality of the training of specialists working in rural cultural establishments remains low. A considerable proportion of the clubs and libraries is poorly provided with amenities. The network of club establishments in the Far North regions is inadequate.

The physical training of a considerable proportion of the population lags markedly behind the demands of modern production and the very rhythm of contemporary life. It is disturbing that general educational school graduates frequently have had posture, diminished vision and primary forms of hypertension. Physical culture and sport can and should be an important factor of a person's all-around development.

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suppression. The monopoly bourgeoisie channels part of the superprofits into bribing whole social strata, creating the illusion of their familiarization with its way of life. It employs all possibilities of the spiritual stupefaction of the masses.

The director of the concerted system of manipulation of the mass consciousness is American imperialism. The United States is currently responsible for 37 percent of the capitalist countries' industrial production. At the same time, Western specialists calculate, the United States controls the bulk of the information circulating in these countries.

The class essence of bourgeois ideology and policy is being manifested particularly distinctly in the current situation. We are dealing with imperialism, which today means more than ever "reaction all along the line."* In V.I. Lenin's words, the bourgeoisie rants and raves, vainly attempting to halt the course of history.

The main stream of imperialist propaganda is channeled against the USSR and the other socialist community countries. U.S. imperialist circles have exercised particular ingenuity recently in unbridled slander of the Soviet Union. The new U.S. Administration has attempted to level at our country the montrous charge of "international terrorism," which has been rebuffed by all the world's progressive forces. The imperialists and their accomplices are setting in motion an entire system of means aimed at subverting the socialist world and are systematically conducting hostile campaigns against the fraternal countries, attempting to turn people away from socialism. "Recent events," the CPSU Central Committee Report to the 26th party congress points out, "confirm again and again that our class enemies are learning from their defeats. They are operating increasingly subtlely and insidiously against the socialist countries."**

The events in Poland serve as a graphic example of this. Both internal political factors and the provocative, insidious subversive activity of imperialism are at the basis of the crisis which has arisen there. The mistakes and miscalculations of the previous PZPR leadership in socioeconomic policy were used by the enemies of socialism, with the support of outside reactionary forces, for attacks on the party and the state for the purpose of disorganizing the entire life of the country, implanting anarchy and subsequently seizing power.

The country's true patriots, headed by the PZPR, are waging a strenuous political struggle to overcome the crisis situation and strengthen the positions of socialism in Poland. Expressing the will of the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries, Comrade L.I. Brezhnev declared from our congress' platform: "...we will not leave socialist Poland, fraternal Poland in the lurch and will see that no harm comes to it!"***

*See V.I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], vol 27, p 419.
**"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 9.
***Ibid., pp 9-10.

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The viability of our social system, the historical truth and invincible force of Marxist-Leninist ideology and Soviet people's ideological conviction are counterposed to the bitter attacks of hostile propaganda. At the same time high vigilance and active struggle against ideological currents hostile to socialism and against imperialist ideological diversions are essential.

The main area of realization of this requirement is a further increase in the efficiency and quality of our propaganda and its increased aggressiveness. A special, counterpropaganda, aspect also has to be taken into consideration here. After all, it is no secret that certain people, particularly among the politically inexperienced part of the youth, sometimes still lack, unfortunately, vigilance and a critical, class-based approach to sources of bourgeois propaganda, whose assertiveness is, as is known, increasing. It is necessary to inculcate more consistently and persistently a steady irreconcilability with hostile propaganda, starting at an early age, when a person is being prepared for independent life. The schools, vocational-technical schools, tekhnikums and VUZ's must have their say here. It is necessary in one's youthful years even to begin to cultivate the skills of evaluating social processes from class standpoints and to mold a scientific, communist world outlook and unshakable ideological and moral stanchness.

It is also essential to continue to develop and perfect work on exposing and cutting short imperialism's ideological diversions, organize the broader training of propaganda personnel for problems of the ideological struggle and increase the depth and cogency of the criticism of imperialism's antipopular essence and its ideology and policy in lecture series in the social sciences in the VUZ's and tekhnikums. It is a question of fostering an ability to conduct an ideological polemic and defend one's views and an ability to persuade.

Many of the country's party organizations have accumulated interesting experience in recent years in the sphere of counterpropaganda and criticism of bourgeois and reformist ideology which merits study and dissemination.

Our mass information and propaganda media have extended considerably the informational content of their international material and increased their immediacy. TASS now transmits approximately 300 reports daily. The television programs "The World Today," "Studio 9" and "International Answers," "International Diary" and "From the TASS Tape" are of great interest.

The historic decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the far-reaching program of communist creation and struggle for peace ensure the necessary conditions for the further development of socialism's ideological offensive. We must display greater aggressiveness in the ideological struggle, not allow the enemy any respite and convey our words of truth, in spite of all the barriers, to the working people in all parts of the world. As Comrade L.I. Brezhnev said, "we are struggling for the just cause of peace and the peoples' security and the interests of the people of labor. The truth of Marxist-Leninist teaching is on our side. Unity and cohesion is our strength."*

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 10.

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Political work in the masses is the main sphere of our party's ideological work. It is geared to fostering the high awareness of the working people and all citizens, explaining to them the CPSU's domestic and foreign policy and shaping a scientific communist world outlook. V.I. Lenin regarded the development of the consciousness of the masses as "the basis and main content of our entire work."* Progressive public consciousness is a great advantage of real socialism and a most important factor of the building of the communist society.

Man's communist education in our society is a multifaceted process. Man is raised in the labor collective, the home, the school, the tekhnikum and the VUZ. He is raised by the laws and traditions of society, workable social relations, the mass information and propaganda media, political training and literature and art. All these are the ingredients of communist education and society's sociopolitical, ideological and moral influence on the personality.

Despite the entire complexity, scale and responsibility of the tasks being tackled by the party, it is precisely man which was and remains at the center of its attention and its policy. Concern for man imbues all the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and our entire ideological activity.

Ideological work is an important, inalienable component of the party's ties to the masses and a powerful means of an upsurge of their creative activeness in the process of the building of communism and the realization of our domestic and foreign policy. It is a most important means of Soviet people's education in a spirit of the unity of all classes and social strata, nations and nationalities and all generations of the Soviet people and their cohesion around the Lenin Party.

The force of our propaganda is well known, and even our most malicious ideological adversaries have been forced to acknowledge it. The CPSU constructs its entire ideological work on the firm and permanent foundation of Marxism-Leninism. We have traditions of Bol'shevist propaganda and the Leninist principles of its organization proven by decades of struggle and creative labor. These principles, experience and traditions have also been the basis of the ramified system of ideological influence of the masses and political education in the masses.

As a live, developing system, it cannot fail to respond to the changes in the life of society. This is axiomatic. Every new frontier in the development of the general and political culture and social assertiveness of the masses increases accordingly their demands on the content, methods and forms of organization of ideological work. The 26th CPSU Congress took this fully into account, setting the task of the reorganization of many areas and spheres of ideological work.

*See V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 13, p 376.

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Proceeding from the directives of the CPSU Central Committee Report to the 26th party congress on questions of ideological and political education and the 26 April 1979 CPSU Central Committee decree, it would seem necessary to highlight an improvement in the content of our propaganda and agitation as being of prime importance. As Comrade L.I. Brezhnev emphasized, it should be more topical and correspond to the tasks of current policy and people's interests. Our party pays particular attention here to ensuring the high scientific, ideological-theoretical level of propaganda and agitation, promotion of the key problems of the CPSU's current domestic and international policy to the center of propaganda and the suffusion of propaganda with serious analytical material on the most important processes of the development of Soviet society and also world development.

It is necessary to reveal to the working people daily in forms corresponding to their requirements the essence and concrete content of the CPSU's domestic and foreign policy and to give prompt, cogent answers to questions troubling people, however acute they may be. It is essential to make extensive use of the mass information media for a frank and constructive discussion of urgent problems of social life, organizing here regular speeches by party, soviet and management executives to the working people via various propaganda channels.

We must constantly perfect the forms and methods of propaganda and agitation and rid ourselves of cliches and manifestations of formalism and verbal blather just for show. The replacement of outmoded forms and the extended application of forms corresponding to current conditions and an increase in the demands made on the skill of the propaganda personnel is a very urgent task.

All ideological work should be imbued with the Leninist spirit of unity of ideological-theoretical, political-educational, organizing and management work. The great significance of such unity was again emphasized by the 26th CPSU Congress. This presupposes a further increase in the role of propaganda in the inculcation of Soviet people's social assertiveness, the practical accomplishment of tasks of economic and cultural building and the running of state and public affairs.

Of course, the accomplishment of increasingly numerous and critical tasks of ideological work requires an improvement in every possible way in the style of party leadership thereof. Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's report put forward ideas which require a purposeful search for new solutions in the organization of ideological work and the reorganization of its content and forms, which is inconceivable without an imaginative, truly creative approach. Life itself insistently dictates that we advance more rapidly and energetically in this matter, taking advantage of the experience of the party organizations, the best, enterprising ideological workers and the possibilities of science and social control and organically linking a refinement in ideological work with the struggle for the accomplishment of the socioeconomic tasks of the 11th Five-Year Plan and the further development of socialist democracy.

What is needed is not the semblance of reorganization but reorganization in practice, ensuring a qualitative rise in the level of ideological work.

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Reorganization should not be understood as some kind of break and total reworking of our entire ideological property. It is necessary to approach everything valuable and the positive experience of the party organizations as solicitously as possible. Ideological education should take account both of the new phenomena of life and the party's very rich traditions and experience in this sphere of activity.

Such are certain considerations concerning reorganization. What are the concrete tasks which arise in this connection in the main areas of ideological and political education?

Let us begin with the mass information media. Soviet journalists received with a feeling of profound gratitude to the party and its Central Committee and Comrade L.I. Brezhnev personally the high evaluation of their labor in the CPSU Central Committee Report to the 26th party congress. There is no doubt that they will continue to be the party's combat assistants, respond with glorious new deeds to the appeal for a display of high social activeness and responsibility and be guided by the Leninist principles and traditions of party journalism.

It may be noted with satisfaction that Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's instructions and the 26 April 1979 CPSU Central Committee decree have become for the journalist collectives an effective stimulus to an all-around improvement in their activity. The editions of printed publications are increasing, the skill of the journalist personnel is growing and the material of the newspapers and journals, television and radio broadcasts and agency reports is becoming more topical and immediate and contains fuller information, and its theoretical and creative level is rising.

The mass information and propaganda media have begun to speak more frequently on the major, fundamental questions of social life, socioeconomic development and socialist democracy and at the same time are paying more attention to what are at first sight routine problems, but which, affecting the interests of millions of people, ultimately acquire sociopolitical significance. There has been an increase in the role of the mass information and propaganda media in the dissemination of progressive experience and the propaganda of economic and scientific-technical knowledge. Mass forms of work of the editorial staffs have come to be developed more actively. The efficacy of the critical articles of the press, particularly the central press, has increased somewhat.

At the same time it has to be said that we have only just made a start in tackling the big tasks of an improvement in the activity of the mass information and propaganda media in accordance with current requirements. As in other areas of ideological work, the party makes questions of the content of the publications, an increase in the ideological significance of the material and a deepening of the scientific level of journalism the cornerstone. "Every article in a newspaper or journal and every television or radio broadcast," Comrade L.I. Brezhnev said, "should be regarded as a serious conversation with people, who expect not only a truthful and prompt exposition of the facts but also an in-depth analysis of them and serious generalizations."*

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 76.

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For this it is essential that the journalist have solid specialized knowledge of the issues with which he is dealing, constantly consult workers, peasants, scientists, cultural figures and specialists and continuously improve his theoretical training. The work of the press is collective, but here also the more extensive specialization of the personnel is needed. In accordance with the 26 April 1979 CPSU Central Committee decree, it is necessary to increase the press' responsibility for a strict and objective approach to an illustration of the facts and the substantiation of positive and critical evaluations.

A particularly high sense of responsibility is required of collectives and individual workers of the mass information media in our time. Unfortunately, it is being displayed far from everywhere. Inaccuracies or mistakes and sometimes views alien to our world outlook even still frequently slip through in our press. Not very discriminating literary workers and admirers of "hot facts" and dubious subjects, from the intimate sides of the life of the tsar's court through "God-seeking," are still with us, particularly in certain journals. Nor has due order been brought to bear in the selection of works of foreign authors for their translation into Russian and other languages of the USSR peoples. As a result translated magazine publications or books of dubious and, sometimes, harmful content and those seasoned with obscenity even appear.

An important aspect of the activity of the press, television and radio is the struggle against negative phenomena and shortcomings in our life and work. The party opposes as emphatically as can be demonstrative noise and the varnishing of reality. We are for the press, radio and television revealing difficulties, unsolved problems and shortcomings candidly and waging an implacable struggle against all instances of antisocial behavior and ideology and morality hostile to our system, not forgetting for a minute that a critical attitude toward shortcomings must be combined with a firm confidence in the historic advantages of our system. But manifestations of a demonstrative approach and the avoidance of problems and difficulties which disturb people have yet to be eradicated--all this, of course, is noted by the readers and viewers and the audience and evokes their justified complaints.

Of course, communist education should be constructed primarily on the basis of positive example; showing the very essence of the life and activity of Soviet society and its gradual approximation to the communist ideal is the permanent basis of our propaganda. But this must in no event lead to an underestimation of the social significance of criticism and self-criticism. We need to continue to develop it, combating all attempts to suppress criticism, a disregard for critical observations and proposals and a formal attitude toward the working people's letters.

There is also a palpable need for reorganization in respect of the style and language of the mass information and propaganda media. It is very important that we rid ourselves more rapidly of meaningless prattle, bureaucratic language, cliches and outmoded forms of work. This is no simple matter. After all, many stock phrases were introduced long since and with good reason. Abandoning them is not a mechanical weeding out of newspaper columns but a wide-ranging creative quest for a style and language corresponding to present-day conditions and the new level of Soviet people's culture and education. If the journalist wishes to be the chronicler of the era, he must be on top of the demands of the time from the viewpoint both of ideological level and professional skill.

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Unfortunately, even following the criticism at the 26th CPSU Congress of the shortcomings in ideological work, many of our mass information organs are continuing to work in the old way, on propaganda of the congress' decisions included, frequently employing stock phrases instead of the serious, profound and critical approach about which the congress spoke. High-sounding rubrics and headings are sometimes inserted, but beneath them it is petty facts and secondary and, sometimes, incidental material which is carried. Convincingness and cogency is often lacking in the presentation and illustration of the problems put forward by the congress.

It is clear that all these questions cannot be tackled in a single day. A carefully considered system of organizational measures, educational work with the journalists themselves, an increase in their qualifications and the bold promotion and active moral and material stimulation of those who work giftedly, assiduously and with the greatest results for the party's cause are needed here.

The rich potential of the press, television, radio and book publishing may be displayed in full only when skillful party leadership contributes to this and they perceive the support of the party committees. Great attention to the work of the mass information and propaganda media is being paid by the Moscow Gorkom, the Ukrainian and Moldavian Communist Party central committees and a number of other party committees. They direct their press organs toward active participation in the solution of fundamental problems of economic and social development, regularly support the most interesting initiatives of the editorial collectives and encourage the high-minded formulation of questions.

But there are many examples of another sort, when the party committees call their newspaper, journal or publishing house to mind only in connection with a mistake that has been made or a misprint. Certain local workers put pressure on the journalists, impeding the publication of critical material. Of course, we must not turn a blind eye to such facts. Zealous defenders of local or selfish departmental interests need to be called to order. As a whole, it is important to direct the work of the press correctly, and we will then undoubtedly have less need to correct it.

Comrade L.I. Brezhnev emphasized that we are all concerned to ensure that our mass information and propaganda media be a genuine tribune of party, nationwide public opinion. Constant concern for this should imbue the activity of the press, radio and television--the entire thousands-strong army of journalists.

Permit me to also express a few considerations with respect to questions of party training and mass-political work.

The 26th CPSU Congress observed that much attention had been paid in the period under review to questions of party training. It would have been possible to add others also to the examples of the creative organization of this work in Moscow, Leningrad, Sverdlovsk, the Donbass and Novosibirsk which were cited at the congress. However, it is now more important to note the serious shortcomings to which Comrade L.I. Brezhnev pointed in the CPSU Central Committee

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Report to the 26th party congress and outline measures to do away with them. Manifestations of formalism and pedantry have yet to be eliminated in party education, and theoretical training is tied in insufficiently with people's interests and questions of social and production life which concern them.

We should all give a good deal of thought to the causes of and ways to surmount these by no means new shortcomings in order to decisively increase the quality of party training, its ideological level and methods of organization, striving for greater interest on the part of the students and not their passive attendance to the propagandist but their active participation in the classes and what is called live dialogue.

The current system of the communists' ideological-theoretical training took shape in its main features in our party long ago. It proceeds from the need for the communists' consistent assimilation of the theory and methodology of Marxism and party history and policy. But, as is known, the system of party training has been reorganized repeatedly in accordance with the demands of the time. There is a need for a certain reorganization today also.

We see, for example, that we have not succeeded in backing up the rapid growth in the number of students of the party education network with a corresponding increase in the ranks of highly qualified propagandist personnel. We cannot, of course, fail to be heartened by the increased interest of nonparty working people in political studies. We need to continue to develop this. But in such a way that the overall theoretical level of party training not decline but rise, not forgetting here that the main task of the system of party training is the ideological conditioning of the communists and the molding in them, in leading personnel included, of the skills of political work in the masses. As in all others, in questions of political training the communists must proceed ahead of the masses and carry the masses with them. And the system of party education must facilitate this to the maximum extent.

As we can see, many problems in our ideological work are born in the process of the development of processes which are positive in nature and thrust, but when we fail to find the optimum, timely solutions, certain difficulties arise.

In accordance with the instructions of the 26th party congress, the CPSU Central Committee sets new concrete tasks in the sphere of a further improvement in the communists' Marxist-Leninist training. The basis of these is concern for in-depth study of the theoretical inheritance of K. Marx, F. Engels and V.I. Lenin, history and policy of the CPSU and its most important documents and the works of L.I. Brezhnev and other party leaders. It is essential to continue in all forms of party education the further study of Lenin's principles of the building and activity of our party and its struggle for the purity of Marxism-Leninism and against all varieties of the ideology of exploiters and opportunists. We must display concern to ensure a further increase in the quality and efficacy of the training, continuity and consistency in the assimilation of Marxist-Leninist science, the organic connection of the study of CPSU theory and practice with the solution of urgent social and production problems and the fuller consideration of the enhanced level of the students' political and general culture.

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It has to be assumed that for the future also the main form of Marxist-Leninist education will be the communists' independent studies, and various forms of party education should undoubtedly be of a more active nature. It needs to be emphasized once again that the choice of forms of political study is a voluntary matter, but that in-depth, conscientious study of party theory and policy by every communist is mandatory. In the face of the large-scale and complex tasks of communist building and the exacerbation of the ideological struggle in the world arena we must provide for the constant growth of the communists' theoretical knowledge and their party activeness, ideological-political conditioning and high political vigilance.

Thus, as the 26th CPSU Congress teaches us, the most important thing in party education is to make questions of the efficacy and fruitfulness of the communists' political training the cornerstone.

This is well understood by the propagandists themselves, to which a letter published in the journal POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE from propagandists who were delegates to the 26th party congress, which was imbued with sincere concern for the increased authority and efficacy of party training, testifies.

At the same time it is essential to improve the organization of all mass-political work in every possible way. A principal direction here is, I believe, the creation of a wide-ranging, differentiated political propaganda system which would afford great masses of the working people an opportunity to acquire systematic knowledge with respect to the most important questions of Marxist-Leninist theory and party policy and to replenish it constantly. It is necessary for this purpose to make more active use of the people's universities, schools of communist labor and television and radio broadcasting.

It is impossible today to conceive of the sociopolitical life of our cities and villages and labor collectives without agitation-mass and lecture work. It embraces tens of millions of people and serves as a most important means of the party organizations' direct ties to the masses and their ideological-political influence on the masses. Millions of people work as political agitators and information workers, lecturers and rapporteurs. These volunteers constitute the bulk of the army of our ideological activists. Comrade L.I. Brezhnev expressed gratitude to them at the congress for conveying the party's thoughts and explaining its policy to the masses.

And now, following the congress, the party organizations are enlisting the broadest personnel of the ideological aktiv everywhere in their organizing and political-educational work on propaganda of L.I. Brezhnev's report and the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the organization of their implementation and on the development of nationwide socialist competition for the successful fulfillment of the 1981 plan and the 11th Five-Year Plan as a whole. Where this work is being performed in planned and purposeful manner, gratifyingly good results are produced.

However, nor is everything as it should be everywhere in this area of ideological work either. In many instances agitation-propaganda work among the

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working people on the job and, particularly, at the place of residence is being performed insufficiently systematically and does not yet extend to a considerable proportion of the working people. And, what is most important, serious shortcomings in its content have yet to be overcome; the agitators' and political information workers' speeches are frequently uninteresting and insufficiently pertinent. Superficial, primitive agitation and information with a mechanical repetition of general truths is now simply intolerable.

With good reason Comrade L.I. Brezhnev put the question at the congress: "Have not the forms of mass-political work here become unduly stagnant? After all, it is one thing when people were still insufficiently trained and uneducated. But addressing contemporary Soviet man is quite another. We surely need to think and think thoroughly about this. Who if not ideological workers should be characterized to the highest degree by a feeling for what is new."*

We are obliged to develop in greater depth the theory and analyze and collate better the practice of mass-political work under current conditions and formulate measures for its more profound and differentiated planning and its increased immediacy and the utmost strengthening of its ties to practice and the accomplishment of the most important economic-political tasks. It is essential to improve the training, ideological armament and briefing of the ideological personnel operating in the field of mass-political work.

The "Znaniye" Society recently conducted a public certification of its lecturers, as a result of which approximately 200,000 members of the society failed to win the right to public speaking. How can we fail to recall here: "Better fewer, but better!"

Much work has to be done to perfect the very forms of political agitation. This is of considerable importance since the content and nature of the tasks confronting us are to a large extent new. As V.I. Lenin observed, the underdevelopment and infirmity of form does not afford an opportunity for taking the most serious steps in the development of content, causes stagnation and leads to the squandering of forces and discrepancy between word and deed.**

What kind of forms should we look for today and where? The answer to the first part of the question--"where?"--is simple: in life and in the practice of ideological work. Concerning the forms themselves, it may be said that they should attract people and help them better resolve the fundamental problem of political work in the masses--organically linking the idea and interest and developing the assertiveness of the masses. As far as agitation proper is concerned, it should combine the systematic nature of work on a mass scale and, simultaneously, an individual approach to the working people. The whole point is to painstakingly organize and direct the activity of the agitators. This currently makes greater demands than ever on the agitator collectives and, of course, the party committees directing them.

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*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 76.
**See V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 8, p 378.

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The solution of the diverse questions of the working people's communist education depends primarily on the level of party leadership and the directing and organizing role of the union republic Communist Party central committees, kraykoms, obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms in ideological work.

The selection and assignment of ideological personnel and constant attention to them, the planning and coordination of ideological work in inseparable unity with all political, organizing and management activity, supervision of the fulfillment of adopted decisions, the further strengthening of the material-technical base of propaganda and agitation and the better use of available resources--these are the proven means which enable us to successfully tackle the big tasks put forward by the 26th CPSU Congress.

Questions of the compilation and realization of plans of ideological work connected with implementation of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress--both current and long-term plans--are now part of the priority concerns of the party committees and newspaper, television and publishing house editorial staffs. The plans must, of course, be carefully thought out, account being taken of the specific features of the concrete tasks being tackled in all areas of communist building. The goal-oriented programs of ideological support for major economic tasks and sociopolitical campaigns and comprehensive long-term plans of the working people's communist education gave a good account of themselves in past years. Use must be made of all this valuable experience. At the same time the main attention must be paid to the practical organization of matters, direct ideological-political work in the masses and supervision of adopted decisions and scheduled plans being implemented consistently.

We must constantly be guided in ideological work by a Leninist requirement: finding forms of its organization which with the least expenditure produce the greatest and more lasting results. And this means that in the light of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress it is necessary:

first, to carefully check out all components of the political propaganda and agitation system to ensure that not one run idle;

second, to skillfully coordinate and unite the educational efforts of all propaganda media and all detachments of the ideological workers, making the maximum use of the strongest aspects of each of them; and

third, to emphatically oppose departmentalism, which impedes the rational use of the material base of cultural-mass and sports work and our publishing.

Ideological work is a vital, creative business. Much valuable, interesting experience is born in the process thereof. And this experience needs to be constantly studied, carefully weighed on the strict scales of practice and disseminated extensively. A reason for its slow dissemination is, evidently, the fact that frequently there is no clear idea of whose experience and in respect of which problems ought to become public property. It is necessary to conduct a careful stock-taking of the best experience of ideological work, particularly that of all-party significance, and strive persistently for its universal introduction. It is evidently necessary to make more active use

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of the material and recommendations of all-union theoretical and scientific-practical conferences on problems of communist education. The proposal for the publication of annual collections which would illustrate all that is best in the practice of ideological work also merits attention.

It has to be emphasized once again that the key element in ideological work is the personnel. The party has splendid ideological personnel. Currently practically all ideological workers of the party committees have higher education, approximately one-third of them have party-political education and many have degrees. However, the demands on the personnel are growing constantly, and in order that they be up to these demands they must have constant party concern, attention and support. A great deal of serious work has to be done on the retraining of the ideological personnel, particularly of the local level. I would like to pay special attention to the training of party organization deputy secretaries for ideological work and other ideological activists in the labor collectives.

Of course, no course will help the ideological worker which systematically fails to enhance his political education and cultural level, does not follow literature and fails to display inquisitiveness and a lively interest in the new experience of ideological education and the achievements of modern science. There should be no room in ideological-political work for people who are indifferent and who perform their duties in a bureaucratic manner. Discipline and performance efficiency should be organically combined, as the CPSU Central Committee Report to the 26th party congress said, with a creative attitude toward matters.

Life convinces us that we can no longer perform ideological work successfully now by relying solely on past experience and our own intuition. Even less can it be constructed with an orientation toward indicators which, although easily recorded and good for comparison, do not reveal and, sometimes, simply distort the essence of the matter. I refer to that "propaganda gross" which frequently generates exaggerated figures and formalism and stimulates a race for the growth of quantitative indicators to the detriment of work quality and contrary to the interests of the cause. It is well known to what this leads. And if reminders have to be given of this again, it is only because this practice has yet to be eradicated.

We must keep a sober eye, as V.I. Lenin emphasized, on the actual state of awareness and training of all working people (and not only their progressive section) and spot both positive and negative phenomena in good time. And the results of this work need to be judged in accordance with the degree of political knowledgeability, ideological-theoretical training and social activeness of the working people.

The fact that the scientific basis of educational practice has been reinforced considerably in recent years is a cause for satisfaction. Practically all the republic, kray and oblast party committees systematically conduct sociological studies and public opinion polls in the preparation of crucial decisions. Social experiments are also employed in a number of instances. I would like to mention particularly the work of the Ukrainian, Latvian and Belorussian Communist Party central committees and Moscow, Leningrad and

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Sverdlovsk in this field. Interesting experience of the study and forecasting of the ideological situation has been accumulated by the Georgian and Estonian Communist Party central committees. Scientific-practical conferences have become a useful form uniting the efforts of theorists and practitioners in the sphere of communist education.

Nonetheless, there is still much incomplete work here. Our sociology, pedagogical science and psychology are not turning quickly enough to a study of questions of the communist education of the working people and propaganda. I believe that the USSR Academy of Sciences' Presidium Social Science Department and the leadership of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences will draw the appropriate conclusions and devote more attention to the study of these problems. The CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences is also called on to make its contribution to this matter.

The development of organizational structures providing for the flexible, two-way communication of ideological practice and social science should be an important area of the reorganization of our ideological and ideological-educational work.

Our country has entered the 1980's as a great, powerful socialist power. It represents in the eyes of the peoples of the whole world a bastion of peace, a true defender of freedom, democratism and humanism and a model of a society of social justice and the fraternity of the working people. The 26th CPSU Congress armed the party and the people with an inspiring action program which will lead our country to new frontiers of communist creation. Under the banner of Marxism-Leninism we will strengthen even more the motherland's political, economic and defense might and its international authority and influence and the positions of world socialism. The high calling of the party's ideological activists is to arm each Soviet individual with a profound understanding of the noble goals and the content of the tasks put forward by the 26th party congress and help each person determine his place in their accomplishment.

We will work constantly on the further cohesion of the people's masses around the party and its Leninist Central Committee headed by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev and strengthen the indestructible unity of party and people. There is no doubt that, faithful to the glorious revolutionary traditions of the CPSU, the ideological cadres will cope with this lofty and responsible task and show their worth as the Lenin Party's combat activists in full.

* V.I. Dolgikh, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee: "The 26th CPSU Congress and the Party's Economic Policy in the Sphere of Industry and Construction"

I

Work is developing actively in the party and the country on implementation of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress. The party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organizations and the labor collectives are determining their specific tasks and increasing their efforts for the successful fulfillment of the program of socioeconomic development outlined by the congress.

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The 26th CPSU Congr ss was a historic event not only in the life of our country but also in the development of the entire world revolutionary movement. It marks a new boundary in Soviet society's progress along the path toward communism. Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's report "CPSU Central Committee Report to the 26th CPSU Congress and the Party's Priority Tasks in the Sphere of Domestic and Foreign Policy," this outstanding document of creative Marxism-Leninism, made most important generalizations and drew conclusions with respect to fundamental problems of the international situation, the party's economic and social policy and an improvement in the political system of the Soviet society, party building and ideological education at the current stage. This is a program document which is a major contribution to the theory and practice of scientific communism.

Expressing the will of the party and the entire people, the congress wholly and fully approved the Leninist course and practical activity of the CPSU Central Committee and its report and proposed that all party organizations be guided by the propositions and tasks it put forward. Having confirmed the Main Directions of the USSR's Economic and Social Development in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990, the congress emphasized that the implementation of this program is a most important economico-political task.

The congress made an in-depth analysis of the results of economic building in the 1970's and the initial economic basis by reliance on which it is necessary to determine the key problems and bottlenecks and tackle new large-scale tasks of the development of social production and a rise in the people's well-being. Our country advanced appreciably in the last decade in all directions of the creation of communism's material-technical base. The production forces reached a qualitatively new level, fixed production capital more than doubled and there was an acceleration of the progress of science and technology. The policy of an increase in the efficiency of the economy was pursued consistently, and social labor productivity increased by a factor of almost 1.5. National income used for consumption and accumulation--the most summary indicator of economic growth--increased 55 percent. The buildup of the country's industrial might continued. Industrial production increased by a factor of 1.8. A considerable growth in the production of the most important products was achieved, and the proportion of progressive types thereof increased. The following data, for example, eloquently attest the dimensions of our country's economic growth: almost 5 billion tons of oil (with gas condensate) were produced in the last decade, which was considerably more than in the entire preceding 100 years of the development of the national oil industry.

National economic tasks of significance for the development of the economy over the long term are being tackled successfully. The natural resources of Western Siberia are being developed at an accelerated pace, the Baykal-Amur Main Railroad is being installed and territorial-production complexes in the European part of the country, the Urals, East Siberia, the Far East and in Kazakhstan and Tajikistan are being formed. Large-scale measures are being implemented to strengthen agriculture's material-technical base. A large amount of capital construction has been performed. More than R1.1 trillion of capital investments were channeled into the development of the national economy in the last decade, which was almost twice as much as the resources

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assimilated in the previous decade. Approximately 3,200 major state industrial enterprises were commissioned.

The dynamic development of social production made it possible in the 1970's to implement a wide-ranging program of a rise in the Soviet people's well-being. Real income per capita increased 46 percent, and payments and allowances from the social consumption funds almost twofold. The consumption of food products and families' provision with cultural-everyday durables increased markedly. Apartment houses with a total area of 1,075,000,000 square meters were built and 107 million Soviet people improved their housing conditions in this period. Health care, culture, trade and consumer services were further developed.

As Comrade L.I. Brezhnev observed at the congress, the sociopolitical meaning of these results is that the entire system of social relations and the socialist way of life continued to improve and our motherland became stronger and wealthier on the basis of the steady upsurge of the economy, which convincingly corroborates the correctness of the party's economic strategy.

The successes scored are the result of the creative selfless labor of tens of millions of people, the active work of the party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organizations and the extensive scale of socialist competition. The CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government evaluated highly the labor contribution of the foremost collectives and production innovators. The competition winners were awarded USSR orders and medals and CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee challenge red banners.

While noting the achievements of the country's economic and social developments at their worth the CPSU Central Committee also sees distinctly the shortcomings and unsolved questions. The period that has elapsed was not easy. Certain difficulties in economic development were caused by unfavorable weather conditions. There is an appreciable amount of unfinished work in the accomplishment of the tasks of an increase in production efficiency and work quality. The scheduled labor productivity growth was not achieved and the dispersal of capital investment has not been overcome. The unsatisfactory operation of transport also caused many complications.

Concentrating attention on the unsolved problems and the removal of shortcomings in economic building are an indispensable condition and important prerequisite of further progress and the more efficient use of the production potential that has been created in the country. Therefore while propagandizing the successes in the development of the economy it is essential to mobilize the working people for struggle against gaps in work, reveal the presence of reserves on the basis of concrete examples and facts and stimulate their active use. It is necessary to explain extensively and comprehensibly the party's economic policy and actively assist the party organizations and labor collectives in translating it into the channel of practical deeds.

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II

As a most important component of the theory and practice of communist building the party's economic policy and strategy proceeds from Marxist-Leninist teaching and the objective regularities of social development and expresses the Soviet people's fundamental interests. It incorporates the advancement of long-term, fundamental goals of an economic and social nature and determination of the ways and means of achieving them with regard for the singularities of the specific historical period.

The singularities of the current period amount primarily to the fact that under the conditions of developed socialism the economy is characterized increasingly by the unity of the national economic complex, which embraces all components of production and consumption. The economy has assumed huge dimensions, and cooperation and intersectorial and intrasectorial economic relations have expanded. The country's unified power system, gas-supply and transportation systems and very big territorial-production complexes have been created and continue to develop.

Appreciable changes in the location of the production forces and the increasingly extensive involvement in national economic turnover of the natural and raw material resources of the country's eastern and northern regions, where the bulk of all the prospected coal, oil and gas reserves, a considerable quantity of ferrous and nonferrous metal ores and other minerals are concentrated, are also a characteristic feature of the current stage. Major outlays on the creation of extractive capacity, transport, communications and the corresponding infrastructure are required for the development of these regions.

The impact of the scientific-technical revolution on the development of the economy has increased sharply and become more profound, and science's ties to production have been strengthened. The technical level of the producer goods is rising, highly efficient materials are being created and automated control systems are being introduced increasingly extensively.

The significance of the accelerated replacement of fixed production capital is growing. Many of the large-scale enterprises installed in the first 5-year plans require fundamental modernization. Serious efforts are needed in this area in order for us not to lag behind the world level.

Whereas earlier extensive factors played a significant part in the creation of production potential, they have now been largely exhausted. This means that it is necessary to provide for the continued growth of national income thanks to increased social production efficiency. This more profitable, but at the same time more complex path requires a considerable reorganization not only of management and operational methods but also of the thinking of our personnel.

Nor can we fail to take account of such a circumstance as the constant increase in the national economic value of raw material and fuel-energy resources. The country's need for raw materials is growing continuously, but their extraction is becoming increasingly costly. Expenditure on environmental protection is also increasing sharply.

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The economy has to be developed dynamically and steadily under the conditions of exacerbation of the problem of labor resources. The rate of growth of the population of able-bodied age will decline considerably in the 11th Five-Year Plan. This conditions the need for no less than 85-90 percent of the national income increase to be obtained thanks to increased social labor productivity.

Such a factor as the constant expansion of foreign economic relations and the development and intensification of socialist economic integration with the CEMA countries is also very important. The significance of the competitiveness of the domestic product and the high efficiency of economic and scientific-technical cooperation increases sharply under these conditions.

The said singularities of the present stage of the economy's development will largely determine not only the social production growth rate in the 11th Five-Year Plan but also the nature of the national economic tasks and the ways and means of tackling them.

A tremendous contribution to the development of economic policy at the stage of mature socialism was made by the 26th CPSU Congress. It acquired concentrated expression in the wording of the main task of the 11th Five-Year Plan, which "is to secure the further growth of Soviet people's well-being on the basis of the steady, ongoing development of the national economy, the acceleration of scientific-technical progress and the economy's transfer to an intensive path of development, the more rational use of the country's production potential, the utmost economies in all resources and an improvement in work quality."*

The congress stressed the continuity of the party's economic strategy and its orientation toward a rise in the people's well-being, the dependence of the solution of social questions on the efficiency and quality of work and the need for the greatest results from the use of all that our country possesses. With regard for the singularities of the 1980's economic policy provides for a further improvement in the proportions in the development of the national economy and structural changes geared to the accomplishment of the main task. What do these consist of?

First, in the national income the proportion of the consumption fund will increase from 75.3 percent in 1980 to 77.3 percent in 1985. This will increase the resources of consumption considerably.

Second, an appreciable change in the proportions of industrial development is scheduled. As distinct from the 10th Five-Year Plan, the preferential growth of the manufacture of consumer items (group "B") compared with producer goods (group "A") is envisaged. The heavy industry sectors will be enlisted more extensively in the manufacture of consumer goods.

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 139.

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Third, the growth rate of capital investments in 1981-1985 will decline somewhat and has for the first time in the practice of our economics been determined at a level (12-15 percent) lower than the national income growth rate. This means that the plan contains tough demands on the efficiency of the use of capital investments.

Fourth, the preferential growth of national economic end results compared with the increase in material and labor expenditure is envisaged in the 11th Five-Year Plan. Thanks to the more rational use of resources, it is planned to have saved 160-170 million tons of standard fuel, tens of millions of tons of metal and a considerable quantity of other materials in 1985 compared with 1980.

The said structural singularities have a clearly expressed orientation primarily toward the successful accomplishment of social tasks and an increase in every possible way in social production efficiency. Here lies their economic and political importance.

The Main Directions envisage for the 11th Five-Year Plan the ongoing development of all sectors of the economy. The growth rate of the economy will increase compared with the 10th Five-Year Plan. It is planned that industrial production will increase 26-28 percent compared with 24 percent. The absolute increase in the national income and material production will increase also.

It is planned to implement a wide-ranging system of measures to enhance the people's material and cultural living standard. Real income per capita will increase 16-18 percent. A routine increase in the minimum wage, a further improvement in housing conditions, the development of the health service, public education, culture, trade and consumer services and other social measures are scheduled.

An important element of the party's economic policy is the particular emphasis on the decisive areas of economic building. As Comrade L.I. Brezhnev emphasized at the congress, an unconditional prerequisite of the accomplishment of all national economic tasks--both production and social--is the development of heavy industry. It has been set large-scale and complex tasks, to whose solution it is necessary to pay constant attention. This applies primarily to the development of the fuel-energy complex and dependable coverage of the country's increasing fuel and energy requirements. The 11th Five-Year Plan will be the first stage of realization of the energy program being drawn up on the initiative of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev. It is planned to have increased power generation to 1.55-1.6 billion kilowatt-hours in 1985 and the production of oil (with gas condensate) to 620-645 million tons, gas to 600-640 billion cubic meters and coal to 770-800 million tons. The adduced figures testify that our country, possessing the world's biggest fuel-energy complex, is not reducing its efforts in this most important area of economic development.

The problem of an improvement in the structure of the fuel-energy balance by way of a reduction therein in the proportion of oil and petroleum products and their replacement with gas and coal is becoming increasingly urgent. This is important because in recent 5-year plans the quantity of oil and

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petroleum products used as fuel has reached considerable magnitudes. But oil is, as is known, a most valuable raw material for the chemical industry, and reserves thereof are limited and finite and need to be used more rationally. Such a policy was determined by the Main Directions which were adopted by the congress.

In this connection the increase in power generation will be secured mainly thanks to nuclear fuel and hydropower and the use of coal in the eastern regions of the country. For this it is necessary to introduce at the AES 24-25 million kilowatts of new capacity and build large-scale GES in Siberia, Central Asia and the Far East and also large-scale heat and electric power plants on the basis of cheap strip-mined coal.

Great national economic significance is attached to the creation of the material-technical base for ensuring the optimum level of oil production in the country guaranteed for the distant long term. This is a very important aspect of technical policy. The development of the oil industry is now switching to a more complex stage, when the bulk of oil production is shifting to the eastern and northern regions, mining and geological production conditions are becoming more complicated and the old deposits which dozens of years ago were the pride of the oil industry are being worked out. It will be necessary in the 11th Five-Year Plan to activate a number of new wells of practically equal capacity to that which the country possesses at the present time. Oil will be a central problem in the foreseeable future. Everything connected with its solution is a most important matter for the ministries and departments and party committees. Intensive work has to be done on increasing oil production primarily in Western Siberia, maintaining the level of production that has been achieved in the oil regions and accelerating the development of the oil and gas resources of the sea and ocean shelf zones.

As Comrade L.I. Brezhnev emphasized at the congress, the rapid increase in the production of Siberian gas is a task of paramount economic and political importance. The program of the accelerated development of the gas industry must be a most important component of the 11th and 12th five-year plans. It is essential to provide for a big increase in gas production and commission tens of thousands of kilometers of gas mains, including the building of several gas mains from Western Siberia to the central and western regions of the country in the current 5-year plan. This is the first time that we have had to tackle tasks of such a scale.

Major potential for the replenishment of fuel resources is the accelerated development of strip mining for coal, which is particularly important considering its economical nature and the availability in our country of large reserves suitable for mining by this method. The prime costs of coal are four-five times lower at the collieries than in the mines. For this reason it is planned to increase strip mining considerably in the Kansko-Achinsk, Ekibastuz, Kuznetsk and Yuzho-Yakutsk basins.

Together with the buildup of the production of the traditional types of energy resources it is essential to increase the attention paid to the development of problems connected with the use of renewable energy sources, including solar,

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geothermal and others. Work in the sphere of synfuels needs to be put on a practical footing, and the creation of experimental industrial plants based on Kansko-Achinsk coal should be created.

The CPSU has always attached tremendous significance to the development of metallurgy. And in the 11th Five-Year Plan also great attention will be paid to catering for the national economy's ferrous and nonferrous metal requirements. Increasingly great influence is being exerted on the solution of this problem under current conditions by such a factor as the volume of the metal stocks accumulated in the country, that is, metal embodied in producer goods and consumer items which, as it is used, is reincorporated in turnover in the form of secondary resources. The level of metal smelting which has been achieved in the USSR provides for a rapid increase in metal stocks--they have practically doubled in the last 10 years. This means that the economy's metal product requirements can be satisfied with comparatively small increases in the total amount of metal smelting thanks to a considerable increase in its quality and more rational use. Metal quality and strength also largely determine the volume of its consumption and the technical level of machinery, instruments and products.

In accordance with the directives of the 26th CPSU Congress, it is intended in the 11th Five-Year Plan to increase the manufacture of the main types of progressive metal products by a factor of 1.5-2 and ensure the more rational expenditure thereof in the metal-consuming sectors, particularly in engineering. Implementation of these measures will enable us to save 14-15 million tons of ferrous metal in 1985 compared with 1980, having expended half as much in the way of capital investments than for the corresponding increase in the production of metal products.

Scientific-technical progress and production intensification are inconceivable without developed and progressive engineering. The CPSU Central Committee Report to the 26th party congress set large-scale tasks for this sector, which is called on to cater for the retooling of the economy, manufacture highly productive equipment and machinery systems and raise equipment's reliability and working life. Acceleration of the production of new machinery, equipment and instrument designs making it possible to use efficient and energy- and material-saving technology and also production mechanization and automation means on a broad scale requires particular attention. In the current 5-year plan we have to begin a considerable reorganization of engineering in connection with the implementation of the following programs put forward by the congress: food, fuel-energy and consumer goods' production.

A big role in the development of the country's economy belongs to chemical industry. Chemistry today means fertilizer, new materials with predetermined properties, synthetic fibers, fuel and lubricants and much else. A big new step forward will be taken in the 11th Five-Year Plan in the further chemicalization of the economy and the use of chemical products and chemical engineering in all its sectors. Considerable work needs to be done to increase the production of mineral fertilizers to 150-155 million tons (in standard units) and considerably expand the production of synthetic fibers and polymer and other materials for their use in engineering, construction and light industry.

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Among the tasks for the coming decade an important place is occupied by expansion of consumer goods' production. Paramount significance is attached to this problem for an upsurge of the people's well-being. Together with the further development of light and food industry the Main Directions also determined upgraded quotas for the production of cultural-everyday and household commodities for other sectors also. Special attention should be paid to an increase in the quality and consumer properties and the renewed selection of consumer goods.

These priority directions of industrial development are an integral part of the party's economic strategy and should occupy a central place in the work of the ministries and departments and party, soviet and management authorities.

Comrade L.I. Brezhnev expressed confidence in his closing speech at the 26th CPSU Congress that all opportunities would be realized in order for the scheduled plans of economic development not only to be fulfilled but also overfulfilled. This is very important for Soviet people's increased well-being depends directly on the growth rate of material and national income. And this rate must be higher than the level at which the implementation of new social measures is possible. For this reason the 11th Five-Year Plan quotas for the manufacture of products, increased production efficiency and labor productivity growth should be regarded as the minimum of what has to be done, and sectors, enterprises, construction sites and all working people should be oriented toward the quest for resources for their overfulfillment.

A big role in the accomplishment of this most important task belongs to the workers of the ideological front. Propaganda and political work is called on to aim for the utmost development of socialist competition, stimulate the workers' and specialists' display of initiative and a creative approach to a solution of production questions, mobilize the labor collectives for the struggle for an increase in output with the least expenditure and inculcate a high sense of responsibility for the assigned work. It is necessary to explain extensively and comprehensively that material and spiritual values are created by labor, that it alone is the source of the multiplication of national wealth and that high labor productivity and quality are a decisive condition of the successful realization of the social program outlined by the 26th CPSU Congress.

III

The pivot of the party's economic strategy is the transition to a predominantly intensive path of social production development. "The intensification of the economy and its increased efficiency, to transpose this formula into the language of practical deeds," Comrade L.I. Brezhnev emphasized, "consist primarily in ensuring that the results of production grow more rapidly than expenditure thereon and that it be possible to achieve more while involving comparatively fewer resources in production."*

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 40.

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Intensification of the economy is a multifaceted problem incorporating the concentration of production and a reduction in its cycle, an increase in output manufacture per unit of production capital, a rise in the technical level and dependability of the products, their reduced labor-intensiveness and prime costs, the fuller, comprehensive use of national economic resources and other factors. It presupposes the fullest possible use of the economic potential that has been created in the country and the rational expenditure of all that the national economy possesses and produces.

What is the essence of the party's economic policy in the sphere of increased production efficiency? What distinguishes the 11th Five-Year Plan in this respect?

The emphasis is put primarily on the increased role of qualitative factors in an upsurge in the economy. It is planned to obtain over 90 percent of the output increase in industry thanks to increased labor productivity, which is considerably more than in the 10th Five-Year Plan; and more than 90 percent of the increased volume of construction and installation in construction.

Questions connected with an increase in production efficiency will be tackled comprehensively. The main attention is being paid not to the development of individual measures but to a system thereof. A policy has been adopted of the qualitative reorganization of the material-technical base, liquidation of the appreciable differences in the provision of the sectors with equipment and the extensive introduction of technology saving and facilitating man's labor.

Measures with respect to increased production efficiency affect all sectors and all levels of the economy and embrace all the ingredients of efficiency.

Under the conditions where tremendous economic potential has been created in the country ever increasing significance should be attached to the efficient use of fixed production capital, which constitutes the most important part of national wealth. Its value has risen to more than R1.1 trillion, and new capital commissioned in the last 10 years accounts for almost two-thirds of this amount, furthermore. It consists of modern enterprises and capacity for the production of products meeting present-day requirements.

Many of the country's enterprises have already accumulated positive experience of work on the use of equipment, machinery and mechanism. These include the Moscow Auto Plant imeni Likhachev, the Nizhnekamsk Petrochemical Works, the Zapadno-Sibirskiy Foundry, the Mine imeni Kostenko in Kazakhstan, the Ivanov Worsted Cloth Works and other enterprises. It is important to strive for the maximum yield from each machine tool, unit and machine. And the achievements of the foremost collectives and production innovators, who are providing an object lesson of how equipment should be mastered and what large-scale resources may be put to the service of the national economy, should be the criterion here. Thus in the coal industry 1,000-tonner brigade leaders are striving for almost twice as much coal per day per mechanized complex than in the sector as a whole. The spinner V.Ye. Lokteva and the weaver N.I.

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Grigor'yeva fulfilled personal quotas of the first year of the 11th Five-Year Plan in 3-1/2 months. They were cordially congratulated on this splendid achievement by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev. There are similar models of work in every sector and every republic, kray and oblast. And they must be adopted more actively.

This is all the more necessary in that there has been a decline in the output-capital ratio in many sectors of industry and in associations and at enterprises recently. This entails big losses inasmuch as every kopeck of the return on capital on a countrywide scale constitutes several billion rubles of industrial output annually. Of course, factors of an objective nature exert a certain influence on the output-capital ratio. Mineral deposits which are difficult of access and more complex in a mining-geological respect have to be developed in the extractive sectors of industry. The product's capital-intensiveness is increasing in the processing sectors in connection with the rise in the technical level and complexity of the products. The proportion of the part of fixed capital intended for the creation of normal work conditions on the job is increasing.

At the same time full use is not yet being made of available production capital at many enterprises, and much equipment idle time is permitted as a result of a variety of organizational-technical maladjustments. This applies to the enterprises of engineering, ferrous metallurgy, chemical and pulp and paper industry and other sectors. The shift-work coefficient is still low.

Great attention will be paid in the 11th Five-Year Plan to a streamlining of the structure of production capital. The level of the output-capital ratio depends on the share therein of the active part--the machinery and equipment by means of which the product is created. However, the relative significance of this part of capital in industry is not growing quickly enough. Buildings and installations, which are frequently made unduly large and costly, account for a considerable proportion.

The problem of an improvement in the use of fixed capital should be tackled along a broad front encompassing all components of production--from the place of work through the ministry. Specificity and efficiency and an ability to strive consistently for an increase in the return on capital in each area of work are essential here.

The acceleration of the economy's transition to the path of intensive development is determined at the present time to an increasingly great extent by scientific-technical progress and the practical use of its achievements. In the report to the 26th party congress Comrade L.I. Brezhnev put forward the task of bringing all sectors of the economy to the foremost boundaries of science and technology. A system of measures with respect to the most important areas is envisaged to this end in the 11th Five-Year Plan:

the creation and introduction of types of equipment and technology which provide for the more rapid growth of labor productivity and an appreciable saving of financial and material resources;

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an acceleration of the retooling of sectors of the economy on the basis of the modernization of production capital and the introduction of progressive technology, highly productive equipment and modern forms of prodution organization;

a considerable increase in the level of the mechanization and automation of production processes, particularly with difficult work conditions, and auxiliary and handling operations and a decisive reduction in the proportion of workers employed in manual labor; and

an increase in the proportion of products of the top quality category in the overall volume of output, the withdrawal of obsolete products from production and a 1.5-2-fold acceleration of the rate of replacement of manufactured machinery and equipment.

Considerable scientific process stock has been created and 160 goal-oriented scientific-technical programs have been drawn up with respect to a number of these areas. It is essential to pay constant attention to their practical implementation, increase the comprehensive nature of the solution of problems and link more fully the targets of the programs with other sections of the national economic plans, primarily in the sphere of capital investments and production.

The decisive and most pressing area now is the introduction of scientific-technical achievements. The 26th CPSU Congress criticized the impermissible slowness in the assimilation of promising developments in the sphere of the continuous pouring of steel and powder metallurgy, unique power lines and high-strength rayon. In the 10th Five-Year Plan the proportion of the continuous pouring of steel increased only from 7 to 11 percent of the total amount of smelted steel, whereas in a number of other countries it constitutes 40-45 percent. And this is a national invention. And it must be introduced extensively in the next few years. The production of ferrocart increased in the same period 28 percent, which also cannot be deemed sufficient. Considering the progressive nature of powder metallurgy, it is planned to triple the production of metallic powder in the 11th Five-Year Plan.

Industry is confronted with many urgent questions also. Thus the equipment specimens for mining industry, which have been created on a par with world achievements, have been manufactured only in individual models, and their mass production has not yet been organized. But the need for such equipment is growing rapidly in connection with the increased extraction of hard minerals. We cannot get by here without qualitatively new equipment.

The acceleration of scientific-technical progress under current conditions is inconceivable without the integration of science and production, which presupposes the close linkage--economically and organizationally--of scientific research and planning-design work with production. The science-production associations, in which the entire cycle of operations--from scientific search through manufacture of the new product--is organized rationally, are an effective means of such integration. There are as of the present more than 190 science-production associations in industry. Many of them, including the "Tulachermet" and "Plastpolimer" associations (Leningrad), Central Scientific

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Research Institute of Engineering Technology and others, have scored considerable successes in their activity. The Institute imeni Ye.O. Paton (the Ukraine) is setting a good example of the combination of science and production. This experience should be disseminated universally.

The 26th CPSU Congress set the task of a further enhancement of the role of the USSR Academy of Sciences and an improvement in the organization of the entire system of scientific research in the country. In this connection the party authorities should display greater and more profound interest in the activity of the scientific research institutes, design bureaus and planning organizations, contribute to the creation of a creative atmosphere in the collectives, influence an increase in their work efficiency more actively and strive to ensure that together with the development of theoretical problems due attention be paid to the applied directions and the solution of key national economic questions.

An important task of science and technology is an increase in the quality and reliability of the products and their economical nature and technical level. Much has already been done in this sphere. The proportion of products of the top quality category in overall output tripled approximately in the last 5 years. Positive experience of this work has been accumulated by the foremost collectives of Moscow, Leningrad, L'vovskaya Oblast, Saratov, Dnepropetrovsk and Sverdlovsk. At the same time an improvement in product quality in the broad sense of the word is becoming an increasingly urgent question. Losses from shoddy work in production are still great, certain products do not conform to the world standard and there are serious complaints about the quality of a number of consumer goods. It is necessary to step up quality control in earnest at all levels of production and inculcate in every working person a sense of personal responsibility for the honor of the trade mark.

Official standards are the normative basis of planning and management in the sphere of product quality. It is essential to strictly monitor fulfillment of their requirements in production. In order for the system of standardization to correspond more fully to the party's strategic line--an increase in production efficiency--standards must be reviewed in good time and fully reflect not only the technical level and consumer properties of a product but also the efficiency of its use in the national economy. They should be invested with more progressive requirements of an economic nature, primarily those such as specific use of fuel, energy and raw materials, material consumption and labor expenditure.

The economy's transition to the tracks of intensive development and the realization of economic goals largely depend on the comprehensive, rational use of labor, raw material and other resources. Our country possesses a rich mineral-raw material base, as is known. The USSR economy is developing on the basis of its own resources in terms of practically all types of natural raw material and fuel, which ensures the country's economic independence and provides considerable advantages, which are manifested particularly noticeably against the background of the energy and raw material crisis in the capitalist countries and the abrupt change in conditions on the world market in the direction of an increase in the value of these commodities and the demand for them.

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At the same time the availability in the USSR of a rich raw material base does not in the least lessen the urgency of the problem of the careful expenditure of natural resources. "We are particularly responsible for their correct, zealous use," Comrade L.I. Brezhnev emphasized, "to not only the present but also future generations. And no one has the right to forget this."*

It is essential to take fully into account the particular features of the accomplishment of this task at the current stage of the Soviet society's development. The point being that in connection with the increased raw material requirement and capital-intensiveness of extractive industry the state has to spend increasingly large resources on its development. It is also necessary to bear in mind that the cost of the raw materials and intermediate products constitutes roughly two-thirds of all expenditure on the production of products in industry as a whole. This is a very big ingredient of the economy's efficiency, and the closest attention of the party and management authorities and scientific and planning organizations must be focused on it.

The zealous use of natural resources presupposes as a condition thereof an increase in the extent of the extraction of minerals from the interior and a reduction in their losses during extraction, transportation and storage. The more extensive introduction of modern methods and technical means of an increase in pools' oil yield and progressive methods of the mining of coal, nonferrous metal ores and other minerals is making it possible to involve additional raw material resources in the economic turnover.

An efficient direction is the comprehensive, heavy processing of raw material, which is particularly important for nonferrous and ferrous metallurgy, oil, gas, petroleum-refining, chemical and wood-processing industry and other sectors. There are both certain achievements and unutilized potential here. We may cite as a positive example the Orenburg gas complex, where more than 1 million tons of sulfur and a large amount of helium is extracted from natural gas annually. The nonferrous metallurgy enterprises obtain many valuable elements as byproducts.

At the same time the degree of extraction of useful components from many types of mineral raw material is still insufficient. Petroleum-refining technology and also the structure of the petroleum products obtained are in need of further improvement. World and national experience shows that it is possible to obtain in cost terms far more output than at present thanks to heavier petroleum refining.

An improvement in the use of secondary raw material and energy resources constitutes an appreciable reserve. Work is being performed in this direction. More than 60 million tons of steel and a considerable amount of nonferrous metals, paper, cardboard and other products are produced from secondary resources. The utilization of power and heat in standard fuel equivalent constitutes several tens of millions of tons. Economically this is very profitable

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 41.

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inasmuch as the necessary expenditure is several times lower than for a corresponding increase in the extraction of primary raw material and fuel. But insufficient use is as yet being made in the national economy of many types of secondary resources. Approximately only 40 percent of mobile secondary heat and power resources and approximately one-fourth of waste paper are commissioned. Plastics, industrial rubber products and others are utilized in negligible quantities.

For the purpose of a fundamental improvement in the use of secondary resources the plan for 1981 includes a special section and determines quotas for the ministries and departments. A decree has been adopted on an improvement in the system of the procurement and processing of ferrous metal scrap. The task is to provide for the implementation of the scheduled measures, increase the attention to these questions on the part of the party, soviet and management authorities and disseminate more extensively the work experience of the party organizations and collectives of the Magnitogorsk Metallurgical Works, the Volkhoz Aluminum Plant and the Novopolotsk "Polimir" Association, which has been approved by the CPSU Central Committee, on the use of secondary energy resources.

The efficiency of the economy is inseparably connected with a reduction in output's material consumption. This constitutes a principal area of work on the rational use of and economies in materials. Each percentage reduction in material outlays on a countrywide scale enables us to obtain additionally several billion rubles of national income. This is an impressive figure. And we have considerable potential here. Certain types of manufactured equipment, machinery, mechanisms and other products do not yet correspond to modern requirements in specific material consumption. For this reason sectors, design and planning organizations and enterprises are set the task of an improvement in such parameters of manufactured output as weight and reliability. No less importance is attached to the accelerated introduction of low-waste technology and a reduction in the expenditure of materials in the production of output.

It is also necessary to strictly pursue an energy-saving policy. This means the efficient use of prospected fuel reserves, a reduction in all kinds of energy losses, the introduction of more economical equipment and energy-saving technology, the increased heat-resistance of buildings and installations, the utmost economies in the expenditure of fuel and energy and the undeviating observance of discipline in their consumption.

The consistent implementation of the practice of economies in all components of the economy is now being put forward at the level of an all-state task. In accordance with the instructions of the 26th CPSU Congress, upgraded quotas are being determined for the 11th Five-Year Plan for sectors and enterprises for economies in fuel, energy, metal and other materials in the national economy. Proceeding from this, it is necessary to ensure the economical and rational use of all types of material resources. It is necessary to raise to a higher level all work connected with the planning and norming of the consumption of resources and the material stimulation of economies therein and to make more extensive use of the progressive experience available in our country and in other socialist community countries.

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Assistance in the accomplishment of this task can and must be rendered by the press, television and radio. It is necessary to step up mass-political and educational work and convey the tremendous national economic significance of economies in resources to all working people.

IV

A most important question of the party's economic policy is the increased efficiency of capital investments and the accelerated construction of production and social facilities. It is difficult to exaggerate the role of capital construction in the development of the national economy. The bulk of the increase in industrial output is secured and hitherto unutilized resources are involved in the national economic turnover thanks to the commissioning of new enterprises, production facilities and shops. No less important is the qualitative aspect. New capacity means realization of the latest achievements of science and technology, progressive techniques, a more refined product and high labor productivity. A considerable proportion of the country's national income is channeled into capital construction.

A big and complex construction program has to be implemented in the 11th Five-Year Plan. "Its characteristic feature," Comrade L.I. Brezhnev pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress, "is the utmost concentration of forces on the speediest completion and startup of the enterprises which are capable of securing the biggest increase in output and opening up bottlenecks. We have already embarked on this course, and it must be followed unswervingly."*

The urgency of an increase in the efficiency of capital investments is caused by a number of factors. Primarily the huge and constantly growing scale of construction. The country is not only installing individual enterprises but also creating major territorial-production complexes. The cost of the construction projects is put at billions of rubles. In the last 10 years capital investments in the development of the economy increased by a factor of almost 1.7 and constituted more than R133 billion in 1980. Having achieved such great volumes of capital investment and having accomplished the task quantitatively, it is now necessary to turn our main attention to the qualitative aspect of construction.

The country has real opportunities for an improvement in construction. More than 570,000 basic construction machines and mechanisms are in use at the construction sites. Over 40 percent of all construction and installation is effected from large assembled components. The country possesses splendid construction worker personnel. The planned nature of the socialist economy enables us to channel resources where they will have the biggest effect.

At the same time the joint purposeful efforts of the constructive workers, designers, clients, planning and supply authorities and party and soviet organizations are needed for tackling the tasks of an improvement in construction. The main efforts should be concentrated in the most important areas of an increase in construction efficiency. These include primarily an improvement in the structure of capital investments thanks to:

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 39.

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priority being given in the allocation of money and resources to the accomplishment of the most important economic, scientific-technical and social tasks determining the intensification of the national economy and the population's increased living standard;

the preferential channeling of capital investments into the retooling and modernization of operating enterprises inasmuch as expenditure for this purpose is recouped three times more quickly on average than for new construction;

an increase in the proportion of capital investments for the creation of the active part of production capital (equipment, machinery, mechanisms) and its replacement on the most modern scientific-technical basis; and

a decisive reduction in all kinds of excesses in construction, particularly those connected with so-called embellishment and the installation of costly facilities for which there is no great need, and the surmounting of localistic and departmental trends in construction.

It is also important to strive for a halt to the practice of the dispersal of capital investments around numerous projects. We cannot be reconciled with the fact that the number of construction projects is growing inordinately and that the amount of incomplete construction is increasing. It is essential that there be a change of attitude toward this question on the part of our personnel, which must display particular concern for the speediest completion of the projects under construction.

The efficiency of capital investments is determined to a considerable extent by the rational location of the production forces. It is necessary when deciding questions of the construction of new enterprises to take proper account of the availability of raw material, energy and labor resources in a given region and provide for the comprehensive use of natural resources and for bringing energy- and material-consuming production closer to the sites of the extraction and processing of fuel and other minerals.

It is essential in this connection to enhance the role of the technical-economic substantiation of the building of new enterprises. It must take fully and objectively into consideration all the factors determining the efficiency of outlays and comprehensively weigh end results. The principal criterion here should be the biggest returns from the invested resources on an economy-wide scale. It is necessary to increase attention to a streamlining of planning-estimates work and an improvement in the expert appraisal of plans, increase exactingness toward the planner personnel and raise their responsibility for the high scientific-technical level and economical nature of the planned decisions.

The question of the increased mobility of the construction organizations also deserves attention. The installation of projects is frequently necessarily linked to areas where construction capacity is available, even though this is not always justified economically. At the same time we have experience, in the Ministry of Power and Electrification, Ministry of Installation and Special Construction Work and Ministry of Construction of Petroleum and

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Gas Industry Enterprises, for example, of construction forces promptly relocating wherever this is necessary. This practice should be applied in the general construction ministries also. It is also important to closely link the plans of capital investments and contractual work both sectorially and territorially.

Big costs are connected with the state of comminution of the construction industry. There are several tens of thousands of enterprises and works of this profile in the country belonging to many ministries and departments. The majority of the plants is small and unprofitable. The centralization of the construction industry and consolidation of the enterprises is essential.

All measures for an improvement in capital construction should be geared to the end results--the on-schedule commissioning of production capacity, housing and other projects and the creation of a firm base for the further buildup of the country's economic potential. This is a most important task not only of economic but also party-political work. It must be constantly at the center of the ideological personnel's and mass information media's attention.

V

It was emphasized at the 26th CPSU Congress that the solution of the problems confronting us and the use of the potential which we possess largely depend on the level of leadership of the national economy and the level of planning and management.

Both centrally and locally it is essential to enhance the organizational and mobilizing role of the plan. This means primarily a strengthening of plan and contractual discipline, an improvement in the degree of balance in the development of production, the maximum use of intrinsic resources and the utmost development of the working people's initiative. The plan must become in practice the law of the production life of every enterprise and construction project. Yet there are still many enterprises and construction sites which are failing to cope with the plan quotas.

In accordance with the congress' instruction, it is necessary to pursue persistently the policy of executive personnel's increased personal responsibility for the organization of production and its rhythmic nature and the unconditional fulfillment of the plans in both quantitative and qualitative indicators. Questions of discipline and responsibility must constantly be at the center of the party authorities' attention. Ideological and educational work must point in the direction of the workers' impeccable performance efficiency being organically combined with creative initiative and enterprise and the captains of production heading the movement for the successful accomplishment of the task set by the congress: "the economy must be economical".

The increased scale of production and the expansion of economic relations urgently demand a streamlining of management at the science-production association level. There are more than 4,000 associations in industry. They are responsible for 48 percent of total sold output. However, the advantages of this progressive form of management are as yet being used far from fully.

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This applies particularly to such questions as the maneuvering of financial and material resources, their concentration in the decisive areas, the precise interaction of subdepartmental enterprises and a uniform technical policy.

A task of great importance is the practical implementation of the measures provided for in the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decrees on an improvement in the economic mechanism. They target planning and management at the achievement of high end national economic results, the efficient use of production capital and material and labor resources, an intensification of the practice of economies and the acceleration of scientific-technical progress.

The main direction in this work is an increase in the efficacy of economic levers and stimuli, the strengthening of cost accounting and strenuous, purposeful efforts in each place of work and in each section and at each enterprise and construction site aimed at a reduction in material and labor expenditure in the production of products. Cost accounting principles should permeate the entire economy from top to bottom. Only on this condition is it possible to secure an increase in social production efficiency.

A key position in cost accounting is occupied by questions of prime production costs. However, attention to this indicator has diminished recently. Yet a reduction in prime costs is a most important criterion of the appraisal of the state of production and a source of profit and socialist accumulation most beneficial to the state. A product's prime costs reflect practically everything constituting efficiency: the level of labor productivity and the saving of raw material, intermediate products, fuel and energy and the use of capital. We cannot fail to be disturbed by the fact that the prime costs of many types of industrial product not only have not declined but have even increased markedly in recent years.

Of course, there are objective factors which lead to a growth in a product's prime costs, including complication of the conditions of the extraction of minerals and the increased technical level and quality of the products. But it would be wrong to attribute everything to these. The main reason for such a situation is that a persistent struggle is not yet being waged at the enterprises for a reduction in prime production costs and the variety of losses in production and that excess is permitted in the expenditure of resources on nonproduction purposes. It is essential in this respect to display greater strictness, weigh any measure from the viewpoint of economic calculation and economize in matters large and small.

Implementation of the principles of cost accounting is a most important task both of executive personnel and the broad working people's masses themselves. The personnel's economic training is called on to play a big part in inculcating a proprietorial attitude toward public property and interest in a quest for potential for a reduction in material and labor expenditure in production. Questions of cost accounting should occupy a central place in it and should be studied not in general form but in relation to the specific features of production and with regard for the singularities of each category of workers.

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Questions of leadership of the economy are, as Comrade L.I. Brezhnev emphasized at the 26th CPSU Congress, not simply economic but political, party questions. It is necessary to constantly improve the methods of party control of economic activity, increase the efficacy of organizing and political work in the labor collectives, enlist the working people in production management more extensively and develop initiative and socialist competition.

It is essential to work extensively and purposefully on implementation of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee decree "Socialist Competition for the Successful Fulfillment and Overfulfillment of the 11th Five-Year Plan Quotas". I would like in this connection to stress the need for the consolidation of the successes scored in precongress competition, the further upsurge of the labor and political enthusiasm of the masses and its direction toward the accomplishment of the tasks set by the 26th CPSU Congress and the successful fulfillment of the adopted pledges. Questions of the efficiency and quality of work, which are closely tied in with the tasks of every enterprise and construction project, should be paramount in the content of socialist competition.

Development of the creative cooperation of the scientific research, planning, production and construction collectives and the strengthening of the interaction of allied subcontractor enterprises in the accomplishment of common tasks is also an important feature. Matters should be organized such that work on the dissemination of progressive experience not be confined merely to study and propaganda thereof but have a practical thrust and be supported by the appropriate organizational-technical measures and that the innovators' achievements become the property of the entire collective and the norm of its work.

Competition for the successful implementation of the decisions of the 26th party congress is spreading in the country with every passing day. Enterprise and construction site collectives have adopted upgraded socialist pledges and counterplans and are mobilizing their resources for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the 1981 quotas and the 11th Five-Year Plan as a whole.

In the current year it is essential to secure a considerable increase in industrial output, assimilate more than R140 billion of capital investments, commission large-scale production capacity, build approximately 109 million square meters of total apartment house area and other facilities and strive for an increase in production efficiency, an improvement in product quality and an appreciable growth in labor productivity.

The country's economy has developed successfully as a whole, in the period of 1981 which has elapsed. The plan for industrial production has been overfulfilled and the installation of fixed capital has increased. We have to consolidate what has been achieved and build up even greater labor intensity, bearing in mind that the quotas increase in the next two quarters. The first year of a 5-year plan is a special year: the successful fulfillment of the quotas of this year largely determine the basis of the upcoming period and its results.

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Ideological and political education has an important role in implementation of the economic policy outlined by the 26th CPSU Congress. It is called on to raise the broad masses to the struggle for increased production efficiency, economical and rational management and the acceleration of scientific-technical progress. The ideological cadres must constantly improve their work methods and strive to ensure that its content be more relevant and that its forms correspond to Soviet people's current needs and requirements.

* M.S. Gorbachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU: "Urgent Questions of Agrarian Policy in the Light of the Decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress"

I

A principal result of the 26th CPSU Congress is further development of the party's economic strategy with reference to the present stage of communist building. The continuity of the policy elaborated by the 24th and 25th party congresses and in the works of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev is ensured here.

At the center of the attention of the party's economic and social policy is Soviet man and the fuller satisfaction of his material and spiritual requirements. Questions of an improvement in the people's well-being and an increase in the production of consumer goods, primarily food, have been advanced to the forefront. The totality of these requirements also determines the place and role of agriculture and the agrarian-industrial complex as a whole in the accomplishment of the main task of the 11th Five-Year Plan. It is for this reason that the further development of questions of agrarian policy occupied an important place both during the preparation for the 26th party congress and at the congress itself.

Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's report summarized comprehensively and in depth the results of the party's work in the 1970's on implementation of the agrarian policy and set new tasks for the 11th Five-Year Plan and the 1980's as a whole. Practice has fully corroborated the correctness and fruitfulness of the party's agrarian policy. Agriculture has covered a big path of development, there has been a qualitative change in its nature and the indicators of its intensiveness and productiveness have risen since the CPSU Central Committee March (1965) Plenum. A new material-technical base of agricultural production has been created in practice. Agriculture's fixed capital has risen to almost R240 billion, and capital availability per 100 hectares of agricultural land has increased by a factor of 3.4 since the CPSU Central Committee March Plenum. Currently over four-fifths of agricultural fixed capital is capital introduced in the last 15 years. The power-worker ratio in this time has more than tripled and constitutes 24 h.p. per worker.

The machinery-tractor pool in the countryside has more than half a million modern powerful tractors. Animal husbandry premises have essentially been built anew or modernized. Over 500 vigorous poultry factories have been commissioned; the "Ptitseprom" system currently produces 85 percent of marketable egg and poultry meat production. Hundreds of industrial-type mechanized

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complexes for beef, pork and milk production have been built. Modern hothouses centers are operating near large cities and in industrial areas. Work on land reclamation and chemicalization is being performed on a vast scale and in all parts of the country.

New sectors servicing agriculture--machine building for animal husbandry and fodder production, rural construction and the formula food and microbiological industry--have been created. In aword, the party has done a great deal of work to make agriculture a highly developed sector of the economy.

The growth of capital investments, equipment and fertilizer supplies and other material resources with a simultaneous improvement in the forms of organization of labor and production have made it possible to increase substantially the volume of agricultural production. The average annual gross grain harvest in the last 5-year plan was higher than the level of the 5-year plan which preceded the CPSU Central Committee March Plenum by 75 million tons. Production of meat in this time increased from 9.3 to 14.8 million tons or by a factor of 1.6; milk from 65 to 93 million tons; and eggs from 29 billion to 63 billion. As a result, despite all the difficulties and weather complexities, we have reached a new, higher level of food consumption. With an increase in the country's population of more than 34 million, per capita consumption of meat has risen by 16 kilos, milk by 63 kilos and eggs by 114 since 1965.

International comparisons also point to the achievements of the agrarian sector of the country's economy. Our country's agricultural development rate is higher than in the developed capitalist countries (in the period 1976-1980 it constituted 150 percent in the USSR, 130 percent in the United States, 125 percent in the FRG, 133 percent in France and 129 percent in Britain compared with the 1961-1965 period).

At the same time there are certain problems in supplying the population with foodstuffs. The CPSU Central Committee Report to the 26th party congress paid great attention to this question, particularly supplies of meat and other animal husbandry products to the population.

It should be mentioned for an understanding of the essence of the question that there have been very pronounced changes in the country's domestic market in recent years. There has been a rapid growth in the income of the population, and of all categories therefore, moreover, inasmuch as there has been a growth not only of wages but also pensions, various allowances, student grants and other receipts from the social consumption fund. Whereas in 1965 only 4 percent of families had an income of R100 and over per family member, in 1980 this is the position of approximately half of all families. This has naturally increased the population's purchasing power considerably and increased its demand for all commodities, particularly food. Under these conditions the rate of growth not only of food but of a number of other commodities also has been insufficient. Unsatisfied demand has exacerbated the entire problem of the market. It has to be considered here that in the present structure of retail commodity turnover almost 75 percent of commodities is connected with agricultural production and its products and raw material.

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Proceeding from the singularities and requirements of the new stage of development of the Soviet society and also the increased possibilities of the socialist economy, Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's report at the 26th CPSU Congress determined the main directions of the party's agrarian policy and its further development. The task of an improvement in food supplies to the population was advanced to the forefront. The need for the formulation of a special food program was substantiated. The practice of communist building has shown that major strategic tasks are tackled most successfully on the basis of goal-oriented programs. Comprehensive programs have now become a feasible matter inasmuch as they are based on the huge potential and economic power of the country and all its regions and the increased level of executive and worker personnel.

The CPSU Central Committee proceeds from the fact that the most realistic food program capable of embracing all the potential at the country's disposal may only be formulated with the active participation of the republics, krays and oblasts. This is not a matter just for the central departments, although they do have a tremendous role here. Every republic, every kray and every oblast must determine its contribution to and degree of its participation in the development and implementation of the food program. At the behest of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government the USSR Gosplan has sent control figures to the republics. The country's food program will also be formulated with regard for the proposals from the localities as an organic component of the 5-year plan.

L.I. Brezhnev's report at the 26th CPSU Congress emphasized that the present stage of the country's economic development is characterized by the increasing dependence of agricultural production and its end results on other sectors of the national economy, primarily those supplying the countryside with producer goods, fuel and chemical products and also those catering for the procurement, transportation, processing, storage and sale of agricultural products. Even now expenditure connected with the functioning of other sectors of the economy has reached more than 60 percent and will continue to rise in the end results of agriculture. Such is the regularity. But agriculture has been and remains here the main element in food production.

And it is perfectly understandable that the propositions and conclusions concerning the development of this sector formulated at the 26th CPSU Congress are of fundamental significance for our entire practical work in the 1980's.

The agrarian-industrial complex currently is a large-scale national economic organism and intricate production-economic system. Some 37 percent of the national economy's fixed capital is concentrated and more than 40 percent of working people is employed in this sector. Some 42 percent of the country's national income is created here.

The problem of the interconnected development of the sectors constituting the agrarian-industrial complex has become more urgent than ever. A task of tremendous importance was set at the 26th party congress--ensuring the uniform planning and proportional and balanced development of these sectors, a considerable strengthening of the material-technical base of the entire complex, an improvement in the economic relations among its constituent sectors,

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the organization of their precise interaction for an increase in the production of agricultural products and an improvement in their preservation, processing and delivery to the consumer.

Recently the CPSU Central Committee has adopted a number of measures to improve the functioning of the agrarian-industrial complex and to separate into independent sectors those of the national economy which work directly on increasing food production. Party leadership and state management of the complex are also being streamlined at the same time.

With regard for the significance which questions of the further comprehensive mechanization of agriculture and its transition to an industrial footing have acquired at the present stage, the Department of Agricultural Machine Building has been created in the CPSU Central Committee. Similar departments or sectors have been created in a number of union republic Communist Party central committees and obkoms and kraykoms. A new structural subdivision--Agrarian-Industrial Complex Administration--headed by the USSR Gosplan first deputy chairman has been formed in the USSR Gosplan.

Considering that mineral fertilizers and chemical protection agents are a most important factor of the enhanced productiveness of farming and an increase in agricultural products, their production has been separated off into an independent sector and a special ministry has been created. For an improvement in the organization of the entire business of vegetable, fruit and potato growing the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government deemed it necessary to form the Ministry of Fruit and Vegetable Industry with corresponding bodies locally which are in charge of questions of the production, procurement, transportation, storage, processing, trading and sale of these important products.

The process of the formation of the agrarian-industrial complex is being accompanied by an increase in agriculture and throughout the agrarian sector of the industrialization of production and marks the completion of its transition from extensive methods to the path of all-around intensification. The achievement of higher indicators in agriculture will now be secured not so much by an expansion of the sown areas and the increased head of livetsock as on the basis of increased labor productivity and an increase in the productiveness and stability of farming and animal husbandry.

The 26th CPSU Congress confirmed the party's policy of the further allocation of large-scale financial and material resources for the development of agriculture, which will enable us to continue to furnish the sector with equipment, extend work on reclamation and chemicalization, reinforce the base of animal husbandry, develop the infrastructure and so forth. At the same time (and it is very important that this be borne in mind in propaganda and management) the CPSU Central Committee Report to the 26th party congress emphasized that the center of gravity now is shifting to the return on the capital investments, the growth of the productiveness of agriculture and the extension and streamlining of its relations with all sectors of the agrarian-industrial complex.

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The problem of the use of the production potential that has been and is being created in the countryside is the key problem of the further development of agriculture and the entire agrarian-industrial complex. There are big reserves here, and the state of affairs in a number of sectors is causing concern. With an overall increase in labor productivity in agriculture of a factor of 1.8 in 15 years, in the last 5-year plan it increased only 15 percent. Nor can we be satisfied by such an indicator of agricultural production as the yield per hectare. With an increase in output per hectare of a factor of 1.3 for the country as a whole in 1970's, which cannot be deemed sufficient, there are many farms, rayons and entire oblasts even where this increase constituted only 5-10 percent and even less in places. As the practice of the foremost farms shows, we are underutilizing the potential of the present head of livestock to the extent of 20-25 percent. A number of other data on big production reserves could also be cited.

The conclusion is clear: an abrupt turnabout in all management, organizing and political work toward the efficient use of labor and material resources and the fuller mobilization of kolkhoz and sovkhoz production potential are needed.

More favorable conditions for this are now being objectively created. L.I. Brezhnev's report emphasizes particularly the importance of a continued improvement in the economic conditions of the operation of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes as an obligatory and exceptionally important ingredient of agricultural production efficiency. The consistency of the policy of the CPSU Central Committee formulated by the March Plenum and geared to the accelerated development of agriculture, a further improvement in the planning and stimulation of production and a strengthening of cost accounting principles in the work of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes is manifested here.

A comprehensive CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree was adopted which provides for the establishment of a single product purchase plan broken down by year, the introduction of a new system of stimulating the farms for an increase in the sale of products to the state compared with the average annual level of the 10th Five-Year Plan and the increased connection between the material encouragement of the agricultural workers and end results, particularly an improvement in qualitative indicators. The task now is to ensure that the economic levers contained in this decree be employed in the practice of every kolkhoz and sovkhoz and in party and economic leadership of the activity of the labor collectives in the countryside.

Important theoretical and practical significance is attached to the propositions of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's report on the role of the components of the agrarian sector in the accomplishment of the food program. Our party's fundamental position is that the kolkhozes and sovkhozes have been and remain the basis of socialist agriculture. And this means that the party, soviet, management and scientific personnel is called on to further improve the forms and methods of farm management and pay the closest attention to the processes occurring in kolkhoz and sovkhoz production (its production forces and the nature of labor) and in the social sphere. It is necessary to

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implement consistently the provisions of such a most important document as the CPSU Central Committee decree "The Further Development of the Specialization and Concentration of Agricultural Production on the Basis of Interfarm Cooperation and Agrarian-Industrial Integration". Interfarm cooperation and agrarian-industrial integration and the utmost intensification of kolkhoz and sovkhoz production are the single, most effective path of an increase in production.

The process of the specialization and concentration of agricultural production has now encompassed all republics, krays and oblasts. But a number of theoretical and practical questions is arising requiring the more detailed study of accumulated experience and more extensive collation. They concern, inter alia, such problems as the selection of the organizational forms of interfarm and intersectorial cooperation which are the most progressive and have given a good acount of themselves, a streamling of economic mutual relations among the participants in the cooperation, development of democratic principles of management, the increased role of the labor collectives and realization of the requirements of the Kolkhoz Charter and the Regulations Governing Interfarm Enterprises and Associations.

Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's report also determines from Marxist standpoints the significance of the population's private subsidiary farms for the development of agricultural production. The private subsidiary farms' contribution to the formation of the country's food stocks could be more appreciable than is the case now, particularly if there is closer cooperation between the kolkhozes and sovkhozes and the private subsidiary farms based on contractual relations. The CPSU Central Committee proceeds from the fact that such cooperation successfully combines the interests of the state and kolkhoz-sovkhoz production and the private interests of the kolkhoz members, workers and employees. It is rational in all respects since it permits the fuller use of labor resources, feeding land and livestock premises and is an important step on the path of the private subsidiary farm's integration with social production on the basis of the leading role of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes and the utmost assistance to rural inhabitants in an improvement in the running of their farm. Assistance and the utmost support should be received primarily by the workers who participate actively in public farming. Of course, this business requires constant attention and flexible leadership on the part of the party committees and rural party organizations.

An urgent problem of the party's agrarian policy is the social development of the countryside. The 26th congress emphasized with new force the party's concern for bringing the living conditions of the rural population closer to those of city dwellers. Addressing the CPSU Central Committee October (1980) Plenum, L.I. Brezhnev observed that the efficient use of the possibilities of agriculture is connected mostly directly with the solution of social problems of the countryside. Much has been done in this respect in recent years, and the rural workers' material well-being has risen considerably. Nonetheless, the reorganization of the social living conditions of the countryside is occurring more slowly than is necessary and below available possiblities. The proportion of capital investments channeled into nonproduction construction in the countryside has been manifestly inadequate in a

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number of places, particularly into the construction of housing, schools, children's establishments and consumer service enterprises.

The shortcomings in this sphere are increasing the migration of the rural population. And this is being reflected negatively in the retention of personnel in agricultural production and the creation of stable labor collectives. The appreciable outflow of personnel, primarily the youth, in certain parts, particularly the RSFSR's nonchernozem zone, has led to the point where the farms have been forced to perform some of the work with the help of workers from the cities. There is a shortage of experienced skilled machine-operator personnel.

With regard for these phenomena and trends, the 26th CPSU Congress determined tasks for the countryside's social development for the immediate future.

The Main Directions of the USSR's Economic and Social Development in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990 provide for the construction at a preferential rate in the countryside of well-appointed houses with outhouses, children's preschool establishments, clubs and other cultural-social facilities. Capital investments for this purpose will increase by 39 percent. It is planned to increase the rural centers of population's provision with centralized heat and gas, running water and sewerage, and the scale of road building is being extended.

The solution of these important questions will depend to a considerable extent on the republics, krays, oblasts and rural rayons, to which the capital investments and material resources are being allocated. "The problems of reorganization of the countryside," L.I. Brezhnev emphasized, "need to be tackled energetically and thoroughly, the necessary resources for this being found both on an all-state scale and in the republics, krays and oblasts and on each kolkhoz and sovkhoz."*

Thus the CPSU's agrarian policy enjoyed further scientific substantiation and development at the 26th party congress with regard for accumulated experience and the new tasks of communist building. The congress again showed convincingly that the party constantly keeps questions of agrarian policy at the center of its attention. It is very important to arm all the communists and the workers of city and countryside with a correct, Marxist-Leninist understanding of the tasks in agrarian policy and an understanding of the significance of the creation of dependable food stocks for the country's entire economy and a further rise in Soviet people's living standard. And a tremendous role here belongs to the propagandists and all the party's ideological workers.

II

The 26th CPSU Congress determined that the main task of the agrarian-industrial complex is the country's dependable provision with food and agricultural raw material. A decisive condition of the successful accomplishment of this task is the dynamic development of agriculture.

*L.I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom" [Lenin's Way], Moscow, 1981, p 469.

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The production volumes outlined for the 11th Five-Year Plan considerably surpass the indicators achieved in the last 5-year plan in many products. The increase in the gross product will constitute 12-14 percent compared with 9 percent in the 10th Five-Year Plan. The average gross grain harvest is envisaged at 238-243 million tons, that is, the increase should be 33-38 million tons compared with the 23 million tons for the previous 5 years. It is planned to raise meat production to 18.2 million tons in 1985, that is, increase it by more than 3 million tons compared with 1980. To comprehend the scale and complexity of this task it is fitting to recall that the meat increase constituted 2.8 million tons in the previous 10 years.

A high level of the production of other agricultural products--milk, eggs, raw cotton, sugar beet, sunflower, potatoes and cereal and other crops--has to be achieved also. The increase in the production of agricultural products will afford an opportunity for a further growth in per capita consumption and an improvement in the structure of the population's diet. By the end of the 11th Five-Year Plan per capita consumption is scheduled to rise to 62 kilos of meat, 320 kilos of milk and 250 eggs. Consumption of fruit and vegetables will increase also.

The tasks confronting the agrarian sector are, as you can see, large-scale. And if the specifics of agricultural production and its great dependence on natural-climatic conditions are considered, it is clear that a truly gigantic amount of political, organizing and management work will have to be done to ensure that the charted boundaries are reached. Only on the basis of such work by the party, all its detachments and all our personnel can we count on the successful implementation of the food program.

A high rate of growth of agricultural production can only be secured by way of a further and accelerated increase in agricultural labor productivity. Whereas in the 10th Five-Year Plan labor productivity increased 15 percent, for fulfillment of the quotas outlined by the 26th CPSU Congress it is essential to raise it 22-24 percent, that is, secure an average annual labor productivity growth rate of 4.1-4.4 percent compared with 2.9 percent in the 10th five-year period. Taking account of certain fluctuations by year in agricultural development, this indicator should be exceeded by a factor of 1.5-2 in favorable years.

While mentioning the tautness and complexity of the impending tasks it should at the same time be emphasized that they are feasible. Their fulfillment has as a basis the tremendous production potential which the agricultural sector possesses even today and the sizable financial and material resources allocated the countryside in accordance with the decisions of 26th party congress.

It is planned in the 11th Five-Year Plan to implement a whole system of measures for the further mechanization and electrification of the sector, the chemicalization of agricultural production and land improvement. These general directions of the strengthening of the material-technical base of agriculture and its intensification retain their fundamental significance. The retooling of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes will be effected at a high rate in the 11th Five-Year Plan in order for us to come close to the optimum times

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in the performance of the majority of agricultural operations. The kolkhozes and sovkhozes will acquire new high-powered dependable equipment ensuring the high productivity and quality of agricultural operations and permitting the transition to industrial techniques on an extensive scale in farming and animal husbandry. This process is currently being held back by the absence or shortage of such equipment.

Particular attention is being paid to the comprehensiveness of the supplies of agricultural machinery to the kolkhozes and sovkhozes. The disproportion which has emerged at this time between engine capacity and the range of the materials-handling machinery is preventing highly productive use of tractors to the full extent. This applies primarily to the powerful new tractors. In accordance with the optimum correlation, the country's kolkhozes and sovkhozes should have on average R260 worth of machinery employed in plant-growing alone per R100 of tractor cost and R308 worth when machinery for animal husbandry is included.

Another important task in the mechanization sphere is the creation of the necessary modern base of the servicing and repair of agricultural equipment. The lagging in this sphere is impeding the highly efficient use of the technical potential of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes and leading to the premature failure of the machinery.

It should be said that owing to agriculture's insufficient provision with modern equipment, full use is not being made of the tremendous advantages of the large-scale socialist agricultural enterprises which the kolkhozes, sovkhozes and interfarm associations objectively possess for the industrialization of production and the efficient use of labor. And these possibilities are enormous.

Grain farming and poultry breeding are convincing corroboration of this. The transition of grain farming to a machine technology basis at the initial stage secured a fourfold increase in the peasant farms' labor productivity, and the average annual rate of increase in labor productivity in the period of the extensive industrialization of crop cultivation constituted approximately 10 percent. There was an even higher rate of increase in labor productivity in poultry breeding in the period of this sector's mass transition to an industrial footing (1965-1975)--roughly 15 percent annually.

This is why our party focuses its attention constantly on the development of the industrial complex oriented toward the retooling of agriculture and the acceleration of scientific-technical progress in this sector. A system of machinery for the period 1981-1990 has been drawn up in the country and passed by the appropriate ministries and departments for the accomplishment of this task. It provides for the transition from the development and introduction of individual machines to composite sets, flow technology and transfer machinery catering for the mechanization not only of basic but also auxiliary processes, particularly transport and handling operations. Whereas currently agricultural machine building is producing 1,700 types of technical facility, in the future, according to the adopted machinery system, more than 3,000 will be produced. It is planned to create over 200 new types of machinery to

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replace manual labor in plant growing. It is planned to mechanize many processes currently performed by hand in animal husbandry.

The machinery system presupposes the development of new areas of technical progress and the creation of more accomplished designs: precision-seeding machinery; a new generation of anti-erosion machines for soil cultivation; mineral and organic fertilizer application machines; power-driven combination machines; and highly productive combines for the harvesting of cereals, potatoes and cotton, fodder procurement and so forth. Designs of machines equipped with devices for controlling the process from the place of work of the machine operator which require minimal expenditure on servicing and are more economical in terms of fuel and power expenditure are being developed. The new machinery system reflects more fully the requirements of the zonal singularities of different regions of the country, particularly unirrigated and irrigated farming, the nonchernozem zone, the areas subject to wind and water erosion and the mountain areas.

According to estimates, introduction of the new technical facilities in full in plant growing should ensure a 30-percent reduction on average in labor expenditure in soil cultivation and sowing and a reduction of 10-12 days in the duration of harvesting operations. The application of the machinery system in plant growing will produce big savings.

Understandably, huge capital investments and large-scale work on their assimilation and the construction of new and modernization of agricultural machine-building enterprises will be necessary in order to ensure the manufacture and supply to the kolkhozes and sovkhozes of agricultural machinery in such a volume. In the 11th Five-Year Plan the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building is being allocated over twice the amount of capital investments than in the previous 5-year plan. It may be said that national agricultural machine building is entering a new stage of its development marking a transition to the assimilation of equipment which is in the literal sense revolutionizing agricultural production and making room for the introduction of progressive techniques.

Taking account of the scale of the work in this area of our national economy, the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers are adopting measures, on the initiative of L.I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, for the accelerated building and modernization of agricultural machine-building enterprises. Enterprises and facilities of the ministries of tractor and agricultural machine building and machine building for animal husbandry and fodder production which are being built and modernized have been recognized as construction projects of particular state importance. The ministries and departments have been instructed to allocate the necessary resources to these construction sites as a priority and make extensive use of the most progressive building structures and planning decisions and the experience of the installation of the Volga and Kama truck plants and the "Atommash".

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Fulfillment of the established quotas will enable us at the end of the 11th Five-Year Plan to have increased engine capacity per 100 hectares of sown areas to 390 h.p. and per worker to 38-40 h.p. and to have increased it by a factor of 1.5 compared with 1980.

The future of our agriculture is largely connected with chemicalization. This is a powerful factor of intensification, for whose development extensive prerequisites have been created. The chemical industry is capable of tackling major tasks, and the production of chemical agents increases from year to year. In 1985 chemical industry enterprises have to supply the kolkhozes and sovkhozes with no less than 115 million tons of mineral fertilizer compared with 82 million tons in 1980. The policy of the preferential developments of the production of phosphate fertilizers, an improvement in the quality of the mineral fertilizers and an increase in the proportion of the production of concentrated and complex fertilizers, which by 1985 will amount to 90 percent of their overall production, will be continued in the 11th Five-Year Plan. Practically all fertilizer will be produced in granular, large pellet and noncaking form.

It is planned to implement measures for balancing the development of mineral fertilizer production with an increase in the production of chemical plant-protection agents. Supplies thereof will increase considerably and rise in 1985 to 650,000-680,000 tons, which is particularly necessary for the cultivation of the highest harvests of corn, sunflower, soybean, sugar beet and other crops when they are raised in accordance with industrial techniques.

The development of measures is being completed in the Gosplan currently on an increase in the production and supply to agriculture of mineral fertilizers in 1981-1985 with the establishment of concrete quotas for the ministries and departments for the accomplishment of this most important national economic task. Large-scale capital investments are being channeled to this end. A great deal of experience of the rapid installation of chemical facilities has been accumulated in the country, and fuller use must be made of it by the ministries and party and soviet authorities in the 11th Five-Year Plan.

Under the natural conditions of our country a most important and effective means of an increase in the productiveness and stability of farming is land improvement. The total area of improved land now constitutes almost 35 million hectares. Over 40,000 kolkhozes and sovkhozes have irrigable or drained land. The 11th Five-Year Plan schedules the commissioning thanks to state capital investments of approximately 3.6 million hectares of irrigable and 3.8 million hectares of drained land. In addition, it is planned to supply 26-28 million hectares of pasture with water in desert and semidesert and mountain areas. Some R40 billion of state capital investments is allocated for the complex of operations in land improvement in the 11th Five-Year Plan, which is 19 percent more than in the previous 5-year period. Work on the modernization of operating reclamative systems and an improvement in their provision with water and liquidation of soil salinity and higher-than-usual acidity will be carried out at a preferential rate. As a result of the realization of all these measures the zone where guaranteed cereal, fodder and vegetable crop harvests are obtained will expand considerably in the country.

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Summing up what has been said about the plans for the further development of agriculture's material-technical base, it may be observed that the 11th Five-Year Plan will represent a major new step forward in an increase in the capital provision and available power of kolkhoz and sovkhoz production and the acceleration of scientific-technical progress in the countryside. Approximately R200 billion of capital investments is being channeled into the entire complex of operations in the development of agriculture compared with R171 billion in the 10th Five-Year Plan. Thus the high targets of the growth of agricultural production are based on a solid material foundation. It is only important that all this be used skillfully and with the greatest efficiency.

III

"To speak of agriculture as a whole," Comrade L.I. Brezhnev observed at the 26th congress, "we are confronted with the same principal problem as in other sectors of the national economy--an increase in efficiency and quality."* This is a very important and fundamental directive. It requires of our entire personnel a switch in its attention to questions of the more efficient running of agricultural production and higher end results corresponding to the scale of the investments to which the state has consented.

We still frequently encounter certain workers, of the most varied levels, furthermore, who display great persistence, I would say inventiveness even, in striving for the biggest possible allocation of capital investments and material resources. However, they frequently do not have enough of these qualities in order subsequently to organize the proper use of all resources and obtain high returns from the capital investments. We need to emphatically combat consumerist, dependent sentiments. We cannot agree with instances of certain workers attempting to explain the lagging of agricultural production and breakdowns in plan fulfillment by a variety of references to circumstances beyond agriculture and their activity and responsibility. Such an uncritical approach to an evaluation of their work does not contribute to the mobilization of the huge potential of kolkhoz and sovkhoz production.

I would like in this connection to express a few thoughts on questions of the choice of direction and the optimum proportions in the allocation of capital investments and their most rational use. An analysis shows that many of our shortcomings in agricultural production are connected with precisely this. It should be said first of all that capital investments are channeled into this sphere of production or the other not always with due economic substantiation and a comparison of expenditure with end results. But perhaps the most prevalent shortcoming is that there are many oblasts, krays and republics where capital investments are allocated not for the accomplishment of some concrete goal-oriented tasks connected with an increase in the production

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 46.

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of grain, fodder or animal husbandry products but are distributed in an equalizing manner in accordance with the "lest anyone take offense" principle. But this leads to the dispersal of material resources. And the capital investments in this case do not produce the returns which we have a right to expect.

It can hardly be considered correct when the interests of farming are infringed. Insufficient capital investments are allocated for the purpose of an increase in soil fertility, the development of seed growing and the chemicalization and equipment servicing and repair facilities and fodder procurement and storage. An appreciable shortcoming in the work of past years has been the discrepancy between production construction and the creation of housing, sociocultural and everyday conditions for the working people. All this is leading to the point where in a number of instances newly installed production capacity (improved land, animal husbandry complexes) is being utilized inadequately owing to a lack of people.

Other examples could be cited also illustrating the miscalculations and errors in the use of capital investments. But it is not a question of the number of examples. It is important to draw practical conclusions for future work. This is all the more necessary now, when the 5-year plans are being drawn up and the questions of where to channel the capital investments are being decided.

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers have deemed it necessary to examine a number of problems at their level. Decisions were adopted immediately following the 26th party congress on a reinforcement of the storage facilities and an improvement in the use of equipment and the creation of a chemicalization center and the securing of the necessary returns from the chemical fertilizers on this basis.

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "The Further Development and Increased Efficiency of the Agriculture of the RSFSR's Nonchernozem Zone in 1981-1985" is aimed at the more rational use of capital investments. For all party committees, soviet authorities and management personnel of this vast region of the country the efficient use of allocated capital investments and material resources is a most important state task. And the party committees must take this into consideration in their organizing and political work.

A most important direction of increased agricultural efficiency is an improvement in the use of land resources. Agronomic meetings were held at the start of 1981 in the republics, krays, oblasts and rural rayons which, in accordance with the recommendations of the all-union agronomic conference held following a decision of the CPSU Central Committee, discussed these urgent questions and outlined a whole set of measures. These include industrial techniques, the application of highly productive strains and hybrids, the competent use of mineral and organic fertilizer, the most rational structure of the sown areas corresponding to zonal singularities, soil-tilling methods and so forth. The persistent, purposeful work of the agronomists and kolkhoz and sovkhoz and agricultural body leaders is needed to ensure that the entire vast arsenal of agrotechnical and organizational measures be put fully at the service of the harvests.

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...ne party committee workers must approach the labor of the agricultural specialists and scientific workers with great attention, actively support their useful initiatives and everything that progressive experience and science provides and study in greater depth, collate and introduce more assertively the best models of agricultural management. This was emphasized yet again in Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's report at the 26th CPSU Congress.

Questions of an increase in the efficient use of the land should be posed particularly keenly in respect of improved land. The improved land is already providing a considerable quantity of products, but this nonetheless far from corresponds yet to the large-scale financial and material resources which are being channeled into land improvement. The yield of cereals and other crops on the irrigable land is growing, but it is as yet below the potential of irrigated farming. This situation is largely explained by the fact that the development of land improvement in a number of oblasts, krays and republics has proceeded in breadth, as it were, in recent years, while the practical development of the land has lagged behind. Measures are now being taken to rectify these shortcomings. A considerable increase in capital investments in the practical rigging up and launching and an improvement in the reclamative condition of the irrigation and drainage systems which have already been built is scheduled in the 11th Five-Year Plan. A special improved land exploitation service is being created for this purpose.

A higher level of the farms' provision with production capital is required for the rational use of irrigable and drained land. As is known, the plans provide for allocation of the necessary equipment, fertilizer and other material resources for this purpose. However, the allocated resources frequently fail to reach the improved field. It is understandable how senseless and wasteful this is--building an engineering irrigation system, incurring big outlays and failing to provide the irrigable land in the complex with everything necessary for obtaining a high harvest.

In many cases the improved land is still occupied by nonintensive crops. A most efficient crop such as corn for grain has essentially remained beyond the bounds of irrigable farming in certain areas. There is real potential for an increase in the production of corn grain under irrigation in the Ukraine, the Central Asian and Trans-Caucasus republics, Kazakhstan, the North Caucasus and the Lower Volga area.

Big potential for a growth of the harvests is contained in the chemicalization of farming. And it is not simply a matter here of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes needing more mineral fertilizer and of better quality but also of the efficient use of this powerful lever of the increased productiveness of agricultural production. The farms are experiencing a shortfall in their receipts of a large quantity of products on the one hand owing to losses and spoilage of the fertilizer even during shipment and storage and, on the other, as a result of the incompetent application of mineral fertilizers and other chemicalization agents. These losses do not show up immediately and do not lie on the surface but they lead to a considerable product shortfall at harvest time.

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Given the present scale of chemicalization, the agronomists, machine operators and all plant-growing workers of every kolkhoz and sovkhoz should ponder and work on how to make better use of every ton of fertilizer. The chemicalization of farming is a delicate matter requiring a great deal of knowledge of the soil, the plant, the chemical processes and so forth. It is, consequently, a question not only of the volume of the fertilizer which is obtained. It is fitting to recall here what Academician D.N. Pryanishnikov had to say on this subject: "A shortage of knowledge cannot be made good with a surplus of fertilizer."

An agrochemical service has been created in the country. We need to display concern to ensure that this service be responsible in practice for the efficient use of mineral fertilizers and chemical protection agents and an increase in the harvests of agricultural crops.

In implementing the set of measures for an increase in farming's productiveness we must first of all provide for a considerable increase in grain production. Grain farming is a factor stabilizing the economy of kolkhoz and sovkhoz production. It determines to a decisive extent the satisfaction of the population of the country's growing food requirements. Every good-harvest year, providing for fulfillment of the grain procurement plans, creates favorable opportunities for an increase in the production of animal husbandry products and the increased efficiency of a agricultural production as a whole.

The average annual gross grain harvest increased by 44 million tons or 30 percent in the last 10 years. Grain production per capita in the 10th Five-Year Plan constituted 785 kilos. However, despite the appreciable growth of grain production, this problem has yet to be solved both in terms of gross harvests and the stability of its development. Fluctuation by year has assumed great dimensions, which creates difficulties in the development of animal husbandry and is reflected in food supplies. The country's need for grain, particularly forage grain, is growing. Whence the new high demands both on its production and on its use, both these factors being interconnected, moreover, in the solution of the grain problem. According to scientific data, for the complete satisfaction of our need for grain it is necessary to provide for gross harvests thereof on the basis of 1 ton per inhabitant in the country as a whole. Therefore the task of increasing grain production to 245 million tons by the end of the 11th Five-Year Plan is an intermediate task on the way to the achievement of this goal.

The possibilities of expanding arable land in the country are practically exhausted. The areas of cereals have been stabilized in recent years at the level of 127-138 million hectares. It is essential to maintain these grain area dimensions in the country in the future. For fulfillment of the set quotas for the gross grain harvest in the 11th Five-Year Plan the grain crops' yield must be increased on average in the country to almost 20 quintals per hectare, that is, we need to obtain an increase of no less than 3-4 quintals per hectare compared with the last 5-year plan.

In order to achieve this multifaceted and persistent work is needed locally, as is the commissioning of all factors of an increase in yield and the full

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use of the reserves and potential of every kolkhoz and sovkhoz and each grain field. It is essential to create an atmosphere everywhere where grain production always be at the center of the attention of the specialists and leaders of all levels of farm management and the key task of the party, soviet and management authorities.

To secure a growth in grain production and the increased stability of grain farming great importance is attached, among other measures, to a further improvement in the structure of grain crops. Scientists believe that in Belorussia, the Baltic area and nonchernozem oblasts there is a possibility of securing an increase in fodder production thanks to natural hayfield and pasture and the intensification of fodder production on arable land, thereby releasing part of the area occupied by grain crops. The structure of the grain field should provide for the accomplishment of a very important task--an increase in the gross harvests of groats. Unfortunately, this is not always properly understood in practice; not everyone takes into consideration the fact that this is necessary in the interests of an improvement of the population's provision with foodstuffs. This is what the chairman of the Kolkhoz imeni Vatutin of Volynskaya Oblast's Rozhishchenskiy Rayon wrote to the central authorites in this connection: "Here on the kolkhoz we have learned to cultivate pretty good harvests of buckwheat--16 quintals and more. In the period 1978-1980 we sowed it over 80 hectares, whereas the rayon's remaining farms consented to buckwheat reluctantly and cultivated it on 10-12 hectares. Even last year, which was dfficult, we sold 740 quintals of buckwheat grain, whereas our neighbors did not sell a single quintal. And then we had a telephone call from the Rozhishchenskiy Rayon Agricultural Administration's Planning Department: 'Do not plan buckwheat sowings, the sowing plan has been withdrawn from the rayon and oblast, you will sow 80 hectares of barley instead.' We urged that we were cultivating buckwheat as a higher-yielding crop, and was it possible to sow high-yielding barley at the end of May? But this had not been taken into account either. Only when a big noise was kicked up around this question did they consent to our sowing buckwheat." Is this a party-minded approach to the interests of the state and the people's requirements?

In the coming years a more appreciable role in an increase in the yield and gross harvest of grain is to be performed by mineral fertilizers. Why put the issue thus? According to the plan outlines, the increase in fertilizers by the end of the 11th Five-Year Plan will constitute over 30 million tons. Considering that the cotton plant, sugar beet and other industrial crop sowings are provided with fertilizer, in the main, there is a real opportunity for their considerably increased application with respect to grain crops. Calculations show that in the new 5-year plan two-thirds of the mineral fertilizer addition may be channeled into grain crops, their application having been increased by a factor of more than 1.5. And this could produce up to an additional 20 million tons of grain by the end of the 5-year plan. In a word, in deciding the question of where to channel the fertilizer addition, priority should be given to grain farming.

As has already been said, the problem of grain needs to be tackled not only on the basis of a further increase in its production but also thanks to the

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rational use of grain resources, primarily grain for forage. More than one-half of the total grain harvest has been used for fodder purposes in recent years. It needs to be said plainly that this part of the grain is as yet being used irrationally here, particularly the grain which remains on the kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Only part of the grain is fed in the form of formula food, and even this fodder is not always sufficiently balanced. Thus in the production of formula food at state enterprises the proportion of grain constitutes 65-70 percent and is even higher at kolkhoz and sovkhoz enterprises. While it is no higher than 50 percent in many developed countries.

A sharp change in attitude toward the use of grain for forage purposes is a task of tremendous importance. It is evidently necessary to draw up a special program whose implementation would enable us to release a considerable quantity of grain in the production of formula food thanks to other components. Insufficient concern for this is being displayed as yet, and the production of vegetable and industrial protein and other additives for formula food has not yet been organized in the necessary volume, yet the possibilities for this exist.

The principal measure is the maximum expansion of the sowings of legumes, primarily peas, alfalfa, clover and lupin, and an increase in the production of grass meal. We must promote more assertively, primarily in the southern parts of the country, such a protein-rich crop as soybean. The possibilities exist for the cultivation of winter and spring rape not only for soiling food but also for grain. It provides not only vegetable oil but also ground oil cake for fodder. It is necessary to make extensive use of dessicated potato as an additive to formula food. Food industry waste such as fried beet pulp, molasses and such may be used as components thereof with reference to the concrete conditions and zones of our country. Better use must be made of the possibilities of meat and dairy industry enterprises and also the "Ptitseprom" in the production of meat-and-bone meal and other animal fodder. An important source of valuable components for formula food is an expansion of protein production at microbiological industry enterprises.

On the other hand, we must overcome the trend of recent years of many agricultural workers connecting an increase in animal husbandry products merely with the increased expenditure of grain for fodder purposes and failing to display the necessary concern for the production of other types of fodder and an improvement in their quality. Is this not what is indicated by the fact that in the 10th Five-Year Plan the expenditure of coarse and succulent fodder in the country increased only 9 percent while that of concentrated feed increased 23 percent. This applies particularly to the Lithuanian, Estonian, Moldavian, Georgian and Uzbek republics, Gor'kovskaya, Ivanonskaya, Tambovskaya, Penzenskaya, Odesskaya and Voroshilovgradskaya oblasts, the Tatarskaya ASSR and Krasnoyarskiy Kray. An unjustifiably large quantity of concentrated fodder is expended by the kolkhozes and sovkhozes in the feeding of cattle and sheep. According to scientists' calculations, on condition that that types of livestock's full-value coarse and succulent fodder requirements were catered for, it would be possible to save millions of tons of grain.

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Providing animal husbandry with coarse and succulent fodder presupposes not only an increase in its quantity but also a significant improvement in quality. According to Ministry of Agriculture data, up to 20 percent and more nutrients are lost annually in a number of places because of violations of fodder-procurement techniques and a shortage of fodder storage pits.

Thus grain farming and fodder production are closely connected. For this reason it is necessary, together with the measures to increase the gross grain harvest in the country, to also work with all due persistence in the sphere of the production of hay, haylage, silage and other coarse and succulent fodder.

Solution of the grain and fodder problem should ultimately provide for an essential improvement in animal husbandry. The country possesses the necessary numbers of cattle, pigs, sheep and poultry; and the majority of kolkhozes and sovkhozes has sound animal husbandry premises and trained personnel, which will enable us to tackle the tasks of the 11th Five-Year Plan in the animal husbandry sphere successfully.

The fact that the CPSU Central Committee Report to the 26th party congress termed animal husbandry a shock front of work is not simply a tribute language. It expressed an urgent requirement of the present stage of agriculture's development. Unusual measures are necessary. It is worth recalling once again here Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's words that it is necessary "to display the maximum persistence and the maximum initiative and flexibility and to make use of all potential and possibilities in order to not only fulfill but considerably overfulfill the outlined plans."*

There is a shortfall of many products owing to serious shortcomings in the reproduction of the animals. There are many kolkhozes and sovkhozes where these questions are being tackled successfully. Last year approximately 9,000 farms obtained 90 and more calves per 100 cows. At the same time these indicators are at an extremely low level in many republics and oblasts. Hundreds of thousands of cows produced no offspring in the RSFSR and the Ukraine in 1980, and there are many barren cows in Kazakhstan. The situation concerning the reproduction of sheep is also unsatisfactory on many farms. Animal husbandry suffers big losses from murrain.

Speaking in Alma-Ata in the summer of 1980, Comrade L.I. Brezhnev observed that certain workers had become accustomed to low livestock productiveness and abnormalities in the reproduction of the herd. This matter can no longer be left in this state. It is necessary to work well with the specialists and stockbreeders and rectify the situation.

Much potential is contained in the organization of the raising and fattening of livestock. Low weight gains and the delivery of underweight livestock are reducing our meat resources. Simple arithmetic shows that fattening all the young animals to 400-450 kilos would make it possible to obtain an additional 1 million tons of beef approximately.

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 46.

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All these indicators characterize not only the state of zootechnical work but also the level of all management to a certain extent. Not overcoming such negative phenomena would mean a complication of the fulfillment of the 11th Five-Year Plan. This absolutely cannot be permitted. The less so in that all these questions can, given due attention, be tackled successfully on every kolkhoz and sovkhoz, in every rayon, in every oblast and in every republic.

It is necessary to organize everywhere a mass movement for overfulfillment of the 5-year plan in animal husbandry and create a really shock front of struggle for an increase in the production of meat, milk and other farmstead products. The party, soviet and agricultural authorities of a number of oblasts of the RSFSR, the Ukraine, Belorussia and Kazakhstan have already initiated work on securing a considerable increase in the production of animal husbandry products in the 11th Five-Year Plan. An example here is being set by the party organizations and kolkhozes and sovkhozes of Cherkasskaya Oblast, which have come out with the valuable initiative of securing a 33-36-percent increase in the production of meat and a 24-percent increase in the production of milk in the 5-year period. These undertakings need to be supported in every possible way by means of organizing and propaganda activity.

IV

The losses in food and consumer goods owing to the discrepancy between the development of the raw material base, that is, agriculture and the state of the processing sectors of industry have become particularly pronounced as the scale of agricultural production has grown.

A comprehensive analysis of the state of affairs and also the presentation of concrete tasks to surmount these negative trends were made in Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's report at the CPSU Central Committee July (1978) Plenum. Attention was drawn to these questions repeatedly during examination of the annual plans of the development of the country's economy, particularly in the pre-congress period, at the time of the preparation of the Main Directions of the USSR's Economic and Social Development in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990. They occupied a big place in the material of the 26th CPSU Congress.

The timely acceptance, processing and high-quality storage of agricultural products, particularly fruit, vegetables and potatoes, is not being provided for in a number of instances. A significant proportion of the repositories operating currently lacks the proper technical facilities, primarily refrigeration, which, naturally, leads to spoilage and big labor expenditure in fruit and vegetable processing. Packaging facilities, particularly for the small-scale bagging of foodstuffs, do not correspond to the volume of the production of fruit and vegetable and food products.

Certain losses are allowed to occur in the slaughtering of the livestock and the processing of meat, milk and other animal husbandry products. And it is not merely a question here of a lack of necessary capacity but of the correctness of its location on republic, kray and oblast territory. Life has shown that the creation only of large-scale meat and dairy enterprises causes unwanted difficulties and leads to a big rise in the costs of products and

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losses. The insufficiently high level of technical provision of processing industry enterprises again leads to a product shortfall in connection with shallow processing and the incomplete, noncomprehensive use of raw material.

Measures have been scheduled in the 11th Five-Year Plan to ensure the greater correspondence of the capacity of processing industry and storage facilities to the agricultural production development rate. In particular, R4.6 billion are allocated for the development of meat and dairy industry, that is, 26 percent more than in the 10th Five-Year Plan; and R6.6 billion for food industry, that is, 22 percent more than in the 10th Five-Year Plan.

For the purpose of a rise in the level of these sector's technical provision measures are being adopted for the accelerated development of machine building for light and food industry. It is proposed to increase capital investments for this by a factor of 1.8 compared with the last 5-year plan. And 40 percent of these resources, moreover, is being channeled into the creation of capacity for the production of new equipment enabling us to increase labor productivity by a factor of 1.5-2 in the processing of grain, meat, milk, vegetables and fruit, secure the comprehensive use of agricultural raw material and raise the quality of the manufactured product. The construction of a number of new and the modernization of operating enterprises is planned for this. Measures are currently being worked out for the development of fruit and vegetable industry's material-technical base.

An important task is the timely and complete assimilation of allocated capital investments and the use of all potential for building up the production potential of the processing industry sectors. The practice of past years shows that an attitude of due responsibility and attention is not being adopted everywhere toward the construction of storage facilities and enterprises for the processing of agricultural products. And many party, soviet and management authorities must reorganize themselves in their work emphatically here.

Nor can we fail to take account of the fact that a large contingent of our country's working class, a considerable proportion of which are women, is employed in the processing industry sectors. Approximately 1 million persons currently work in meat and dairy industry, 1.4 million in food industry. Together with the large ones there are small labor collectives and party organizations here which sometimes slip from the sights of the leading party and soviet authorities. It is necessary to increase the attention paid to the conditions of the work and everyday life of the workers employed in these important spheres of the economy.

V

The modern scale and complexity of the tasks dictate the need for an appreciable rise in the level of agricultural leadership. More refined methods of economic and party-political work must correspond to the new stage of its development, as of the development of the entire economy. At all levels of the sector's leadership everyone must realize that this is a vitally important sphere of the economy, that the party's policy of an increase in

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production efficiency requires the most serious reorganization in organizing, economic and daily practical activity and that a shallow, superficial attitude toward matters, subjectivism, every conceivable improvisation and leadership of the economy by injunction cannot be tolerated. It is very important in all our work now to see any phenomenon as a whole and view the totality of interconnected factors and on the basis of an objective analysis, relying on science and economic calculation, to find the optimum solutions to urgent problems and work with a view to the long term.

The attention of the party and soviet organizations and managers should be focused on such determining indicators as labor productivity growth, field yield and farmstead productiveness, an increase in product quality, the recovery rate of expenditure and the efficiency of the use of available resources, particularly land, equipment, fertilizer and work time. It is these indicators, which reflect the new tasks of the sector's development, which should form the basis of the system of the workers' material and moral encouragement and the leadership of socialist competition.

The big tasks in the agricultural sphere in the 1980's demand that the work style of the personnel in the countryside be characterized by an in-depth study of the achievements of science and progressive experience and their active introduction. Much that is new and valuable is currently being born everywhere in the scientific establishments, on the kolkhozes and sovkhozes and in agricultural production as a whole. The application of these innovations would afford an opportunity to secure a considerably more rapid growth of agricultural production. But the party committees are operating variously in this respect. Some quickly take up all that is progressive, and others hesitate and display no initiative, for which reason the work suffers.

Our country's agriculture is at the stage of complete machinization. This is fundamentally changing the content of agricultural production itself and requires a further improvement in the forms not only of the professional training and new knowledge of the workers and specialists but also more progressive forms of the organization of production and labor and new forms of management.

At enterprise and association level these problems are best tackled on the paths of the more in-depth specialization, concentration and interfarm cooperation of production and introduction on the kolkhozes and sovkhozes of the sectorial (shop) principle of management, unregulated systems of labor organization, payment for end results and other progressive initiatives. As the experience of many farms which have switched to the new management structure shows, it produces big results.

Work on the further refinement of the organizational forms of modern agricultural production and forms of management is no simple matter, but life posed these questions, and they cannot be brushed aside. It is necessary to study problems of management and the available experience in this respect in greater depth in order to introduce it in practice systematically and purposefully at all levels. This is very important both for tackling the tasks of an increase in agricultural production efficiency and also for an improvement in production-economic cooperation among the sectors of the agrarian-industrial complex.

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It is essential to make economic work on the kolkhozes and sovkhozes more efficient, active and effective. On many farms currently everything is frequently reduced to a summation and recording of results, an analysis of the accomplishment of this operational task or the other and goal-oriented program is lacking and effective measures to remove shortcomings at the plan-implementation stage are not adopted. The economic analysis groups and bureaus, economic councils and budget commissions frequently work insufficiently effectively. And this is evidently because some party, soviet and management personnel lack the proper taste for economic work. With the transition to guaranteed pay and centralized financing certain kolkhoz and sovkhoz leaders and specialists have essentially forgotten how to count money. All this leads to a weakening of the principles of cost accounting.

It should be added to this that certain leaders forget about the first commandment--the need for the punctual fulfillment of plans for the purchase and supply of products to centralized stocks. Now, at the start of the 11th Five-Year Plan, it would be useful to increase the attention paid to questions of the utmost strengthening of state discipline and an increase in the personnel's responsibility for the fulfillment of plan quotas both in terms of an upsurge in production and in the sphere of the social development of the countryside.

A big role in all this belongs to the leaders and primary party organizations of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, the rural raykoms and the rayon activists. It is they who directly organize the conversion of party decisions into concrete practical deeds. It is therefore necessary to continue to display constant concern for an increase in the level of their activity and the intensification of organizing and political work in the local production collectives, at the farmsteads and in the brigades, detachments and links, that is, where the fate of the plans and adopted pledges is decided.

An intensive struggle is currently under way everywhere for the harvest of the first year of the 5-year plan. It is well known that in agriculture the organized performance of every current operation is exceptionally important for overall good results at the end of the year. We are sure that the participants in today's seminar-conference will adopt measures to strengthen party influence on the course of the practical realization of the tasks which ensue from the results of the 26th CPSU Congress.

* B.N. Ponomarev, candidate of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU: "The Results of the 26th CPSU Congress and Certain Questions of the World Communist Movement"

The 26th CPSU Congress is not only a very big landmark in the life of our country but also an outstanding event of world significance. Its conclusions and decisions are exerting and will continue to exert a profound and all-around influence on the course of the historical process in the 1980's and are of great significance for the international communist and the entire liberation movement.

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The breadth of representation of foreign delegations at the 26th CPSU Congress could serve as a kind of yardstick of an evaluation of our party's place in this movement. At the same time it showed graphically its universal dimensions and unswerving growth. At the 19th party congress—our first congress to which foreign guests were invited--44 Communist Party delegations attended. But 123 foreign delegations from 109 countries took part in the 26th CPSU Congress: representatives of 86 communist parties and 36 revolutionary-democratic parties. More than 70 delegations were headed party general (first) secretaries and chairmen. In a word, the entire flower of the present-day revolutionary forces was represented at our congress in Moscow.

The congress confirmed far-reaching tasks of the Soviet society's economic and social development imbued with the humane idea of peaceful construction. It counterposed an emphatic peace-loving line to the inflammatory, aggressive policy of imperialism. The domestic and foreign policy program of the congress multiplies the magnetic force of socialism worldwide, and its realization will consolidate the positions of the socialist community even further and contribute to the struggle of the working class and communist parties throughout the world.

The increased aspiration of the vast majority of the communist parties to Marxist-Leninist, internationalist cohesion and the stimulation of joint actions against the danger of war and for the cause of democracy and socialism was manifested more distinctly in the profoundly internationalist atmosphere of the congress, which was imbued with justified political optimism.

Our congress was a platform on which the foremost fighters for a better future for mankind and representatives of practically all the organized revolutionary-liberation forces of our time expressed their views on fundamental problems of world development. The report of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, makes an outstanding contribution to the teaching on socialism and communism and the theory of the communist movement, the national liberation struggle and the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. The material of the congress contains important evaluations and conclusions concerning the general characteristics of the world revolutionary process, the singularities of the current stage of the crisis of capitalism and the new phenomena and processes internationally.

The foreign guests expressed deep satisfaction with their participation in the 26th CPSU Congress. They emphasized that they had derived in Moscow new ideas which were very useful to them and gained striking impressions of Soviet reality and the activity of the CPSU.

The documents of plenums of the fraternal parties' leading bodies held after the 26th CPSU Congress, the speeches of their leaders and their press material contain comprehensive evaluations of the international significance of the forum of Soviet communists. H. Mies, chairman of the German Communist Party, drew attention to the spirit of optimism and confidence which characterized the congress and its consistent internationalism, making particular mention of the significance of the congress' responsible approach to the manifold problems of world development and its contribution to the teaching of Marxism-Leninism. "To understand the universal significance of the 26th CPSU Congress," H. Mies declared, "is to support its statements and initiatives and disseminate them and make use of them in the struggle."

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The fraternal parties emphasize the role of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, outstanding figure of the communist and revolutionary-liberation movement, in the development and pursuit of the domestic and international policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state. The ideas of the 26th CPSU Congress are inseparable in the minds of millions of people from the name of L.I. Brezhnev. His tremendous party and state experience, unshakable devotion to the cause of communism and peace, his ability to determine the correct paths and means of the accomplishment of pressing and long-term tasks and his entire work style, which is imbued with a Leninist approach to the party's political and ideological tasks, collectivism and practicality and sensitive heed to the requirements and opinion of the masses--all these qualities of the leader of the Lenin type were reflected in full in the work and the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress.

I

The international communist movement has continued to increase its contribution to the struggle for peace and socialism in recent years. Many of the most important problems--those such as the prevention of thermonuclear war, a halt to the arms race and disarmament, assertion of the principles of peaceful coexistence, resistance to hegemonism and the complete liquidation of colonialism and racism--have been promoted to the center of world politics thanks to a considerable extent to the initiatives and joint efforts of the communist parties. They will undoubtedly be of key significance in the 1980's also. Both from the congress' platform and in the press the foreign comrades pointed to the outstanding role here of our party and its 26th congress.

Communist and workers' parties are currently operating actively in 94 countries.

The fraternal ruling parties of the socialist community countries are a powerful force of the communist movement. Their cooperation makes it possible to strengthen the aggregate economic, scientific-technical, defense and ideological-political potential of real socialism, have an active impact on the situation in the world, oppose the actions of imperialism and reaction and render progressive and peace-loving forces international support in all parts of the world.

An important means of the consolidation of mutual understanding, trust and consent among the ruling parties are their leaders' meetings with Comrade L.I. Brezhnev in the Crimea, the exchange of party-government delegations at the highest level and meetings within the Warsaw Pact framework. Meetings of secretaries of the fraternal parties' central committees on international, ideological and organizational-party questions have also become regular.

The coordinating activity of the socialist countries' ruling parties is contributing to the fighting efficiency and unity of the entire world communist movement. Our congress was an outstanding demonstration of the cohesion of the socialist community and convincing testimony to its forces and vitality.

The congresses of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCz] and Socialist Unity Party of Germany were a striking new expression of

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the close fraternal unity of the ruling parties of the socialist community. They expressed support for the ideas and initiatives of the 26th CPSU Congress and confirmed the concurrence of the fraternal parties' positions with respect to all fundamental questions of the building of developed socialism and also the revolutionary movement and the struggle against the danger of war. Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's speech at the 16th CPCz Congress elicited the broadest response. This was a most important step in implementation of the foreign policy program of the 26th CPSU Congress.

The fraternal parties have advanced markedly recently in the nonsocialist part of the world. The overall number of communists here is approximately 4.5 million. The increase in the last 10 years constituted 1.2 million persons. The most pronounced growth occurred in the communist parties of West Europe (approximately 800,000) and also Asia (more than 350,000), primarily in India. New communist parties were formed: the Egyptian Communist Party, the Workers' Party of Jamaica, the Communist Party of Malta and others.

In the capitalist countries 40 million voters vote for the communists at elections to parliament and other organs of power, and 27 communist parties are represented in the highest legislative bodies of their countries. The total one-time circulation of newspapers of communist parties of the nonsocialist worldis in excess of 10 million copies. In a number of countries the communist parties perform such an influential role that essentially not a single major problem of national proportions can be tackled without them.

The communists are waging a constant, persistent struggle against bourgeois ideology and time-serving reformism.

In our time, when the general crisis of capitalism has become more profound and when one country after another is breaking away from the capitalist world system, the ruling classes have intensified and increased tenfold their activity in the ideological sphere, making extensive use of the mass information media. The following pattern can be determined: the deeper the crisis of capitalism becomes and the more forcefully it undermines the foundations of the bourgeois social system, the more assertively and fiercely its leaders and apologists develop the ideological struggle in defense of imperialism and its policy. Large-scale centers have been created for the psychological indoctrination of the masses and the spread of information convenient for the monopoly upper stratum. The main shafts of this shady, reactionary propaganda are aimed against real socialism, the Soviet Union and the socialist community countries. Bourgeois newspapers and radio and television preach anti-Sovietism and anticommunism day and night and spread all kinds of fables, lies and slander in respect of real socialism.

Under these difficult conditions the fraternal parties in the capitalist world are warding off the attacks of ideological and political adversaries and defending Marxist-Leninist ideology, their program principles and the goals and tasks of their practical activity. Taking advantage of any opportunity, the communists are sowing the seeds of the socialist truth and exposing the defects and plagues of capitalism.. Thousands and thousands of communists speak at meetings and gathering and in parliaments and municipalites, conveying communist ideas to the broad masses of the working class and all working

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people. The communist parties take advantage of election campaigns and every opportunity of speeches on radio and television to inform the masses of the truth about communism and its activity and real socialism.

All this is most directly connected with detente and the prospects of preventing war. When the broad public and the people's masses in this capitalist country or the other receive truthful information about the state of affairs in the socialist countries and about the USSR and its policy, this also has a definite impact on the ruling circles, and those who harbor aggressive intentions frequently think seriously before putting their aspirations into practice and venturing on a military confrontation with the socialist countries. For they could encounter a stormy wave of anger and indignation on the part of their own people, who would raise the question of the responsibility of the purveyors and instigators of aggression. The communist parties--each with regard for its own conditions--are waging a struggle for peace, against the arms race and for the interests of the working class and all working people and for social progress.

The significance of the fraternal parties' collective actions in the international arena increased in the 1970's.

The 1976 Berlin conference of European communist and workers' parties provided reliable reference points for the working class and broad working people's masses in the struggle against the arms race and for the consolidation of detente and social progress. The Paris meeting of European communist parties in May 1980 contributed to the stimulation of the struggle on the continent against the deployment of new American nuclear missiles. Conferences at which the communists of the capitalist part of Europe, its northern countries, Latin America, Africa and the Arab states discuss their regional problems are convened periodically.

Together with other political and public forces the communists participate actively in the World Peace Movement, the Organization of Solidarity of the Asian and African Peoples and in other international democratic movements.

The communists have played an active part at fora of peace supporters—in Moscow, Helsinki and Brussels. The World Parliament of the Peoples in 1980 in Sofia was of particular importance. Some 2,260 representatives from 137 countries, more than 100 international organizations, including 18 specialized UN organizations, and over 300 political parties, including 83 communist parties, participated. The Sofia parliament oriented the public in timely manner toward an effective repulse of the offensive against detente unleashed by American imperialism and put convincing, impressive arguments at the disposal of the peace forces.

The collective efforts of the fraternal parties contributed in the past to the success of the broadest, truly universal, campaigns of solidarity with heroic Vietnam. The movement in support of the revolutionary forces of Afghanistan and Ethiopia and Nicaragua and El Salvador and the freedom fighters in southern Africa and the Near and Middle East is assuming ever increasing proportions currently.

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The CPSU and the fraternal parties are the main moral-political bulwark of the selfless fighters against fascist dictatorships and tyrannical regimes and all who are subject to cruel repression and are operating in the direst underground situation. Some 22 communist parties are still illegal or semilegal.

Cruel repression has been brought down on the communists by the fascist junta in Chile. Approximately 4,000 party members have been killed as the result of bloody reprisals. Over 40,000 have been arrested or subjected to police persecution. Thousands of communists have been expelled from the country. Among the so-called "disappeareds," that is, those who have been seized and whose fate is still uncertain, are V. Diaz, deputy general secretary of the Chilean Communist Party, and other prominent Communist Party leaders. However, as L. Corvalan declared at the 26th CPSU Congress, "the Chilean people have not been and never will be brought to their knees."*

Hundreds of communists have died under torture or have disappeared without trace in Uruguay since the 1973 coup. Approximately 6,000 Uruguayans (Communist Party members, for the most part) have been sentenced to long terms of imprisonment and over 3,000 remain imprisoned without trial and investigation, including J.L. Masser, J. Perez, prominent leaders of the Communist Party and members of parliament, and others.

The party of communists in Guatemala is being cruelly persecuted. Two general secretaries of the Guatemalan Labor Party Central Committee--B. Alvarado Monzon (1972) and H. Alvarado Arellano (1974)—approximately 30 party Central Committee members and hundreds of middle-echelon leaders have fallen at the executioner's hands. More than 20 communists--trade union and student organization leaders--were secretly killed in 1980-1981 alone.

Persecution of the Paraguayan Communist Party continues. Its leader, A. Maidana, who was released in 1977 as a result of an international solidarity campaign following 19 years of imprisonment, was again seized by the Paraguayan secret policy on Argentinian territory in 1980, when he was preparing to return to the homeland to continue the struggle. "Where my working class and my party are, there I shall be," Maidana said. This is an example of what true revolutionaries there are in the ranks of the communist movement.

In a word, communists everywhere, under the most difficult conditions, regardless of the difficulties and sacrifices, are waging a noble and often heroic struggle for the interests of the working class and their people. And the political vanguard of the working class--the international communist movement--had approached the frontier of the 1980's, in L.I. Brezhnev's words, in "confident stride". Even more complex and critical problems confronted them at this frontier.

II

The present situation in the world and the increased pressure on the part of the opponents of detente and the reactionary and militarist forces of

*"Greetings to the 26th CPSU Congress From the Communist, Workers', National-Democratic and Socialist Parties," Moscow, 1981, p 266.

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imperialism demand of all the fraternal parties even more assertive actions for the preservation of detente, against the arms race and for the prevention of thermonuclear war. This is now the main historical task of the communist movement, which is inseparable from its class interests and the development of the world revolutionary process.

With the assumption of office by the new administration in the United States a fierce avowed campaign of reaction and aggression has been unleashed against the forces of peace and democracy and the revolutionary movement. Top statesmen declare openly that they, you see, will "no longer tolerate" any liberation movement, which they explain as "Moscow's machinations". Turning the course of world events in favor of imperialism--such is the class essence of the position of the new U.S. Administration. An endeavor to "replay" history and take revenge for the successes of national and social liberation which marked the last decade can be clearly traced behind the counteroffensive against detente.

Carter's "human rights" campaign is no longer seen as being sufficient. "International terrorism," by which is meant both the communist and any liberation movement in general and which is portrayed as an instrument of "Soviet expansion," has now been promoted to the foreground. We thus have a new version of the old myth of the omnipresent "hand of Moscow". This, ultimately, is how the U.S. ruling circles justify the policy of whipping up tension and the course toward military superiority and the buildup of military might. As U.S. Defense Secretary Weinberger candidly declares, "it is essential to possess the capability of the use of military might" in order that the United States can "control events or prevent events such as those in, for example, Angola, Yemen and Ethiopia." The campaign of "combating international terrorism" announced by the U.S. Administration has served as a kind of directive for all imperialist, reactionary propaganda.

Antidentente policy is of a multipurpose nature.

It represents, first, an attempt to discredit the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, which acquired particularly great authority in the 1970's, and an endeavor to impede and complicate the development of the socialist countries, forcing them to spend more on defense. A gamble is also being made here on undermining the cohesion of the socialist countries and "creeping counterrevolution". Various means--from ideological sabotage through direct support for antisocialist elements--are being employed for this purpose.

Second, the whipping up of the arms race and international tension is being used for an offensive against the living standard of the working people and an increase in the monopolies' superprofits. A golden rain of new appropriations is literally being showered on the Pentagon. Attempts are also being made to force the entire peace-loving and democratic public to remain silent or change its tune and to strike a blow at all movements and organizations protesting the militarization of their countries, the cutting of social programs and an adventurist foreign policy.

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Third, a departure from the policy of detente signifies a return to power methods of politics in the national liberation zone. The U.S. Administration has adopted a policy of open participation in the suppression of liberation movements and has stepped up subversive activity against progressive regimes and, put simply, has set in motion everything that is called "export of counterrevolution". A thousands-strong gendarme "rapid deployment force" is being formed as an instrument of direct intervention. Attempts are being made to drag other NATO countries into this dirty business.

In the Near East Israel's extension of the undeclared war against Lebanon is being encouraged under the cover of hypocritical "condemnations" of its provocation against Syria. The U.S. military presence is being increased in the Persian Gulf zone, and new military bases are being created in Egypt, Somalia, Sudan, Saudi Arabia and Oman.

In the Middle East there is intervention against revolutionary Afghanistan, participation in which the U.S. President has now bluntly put down to his credit. The rearming of Pakistan is planned.

In Latin America the United States has to its credit direct complicity in the suppression of the popular movement in El Salvador, economic blackmail of Nicaragua, CIA participation in the removal of the progressive government on Jamaica and the threat of intervention against Grenada and the expansion of relations with reactionary military juntas, which are cynically called "moderately repressive".

In Africa we have the resumption of open cooperation with South Africa and support for the apartheid regime there, attempts at a neocolonialist solution of the Namibia problem in the interests of the South African racists and direct military and material assistance to the counterrevolutionary UNITA organization in Angola.

Thus it is a question of a global strategy of imperialism's counteroffensive against the liberation forces.

Communists and the international peace-loving public regard the 26th CPSU Congress as a forum which counterposed to the aggressive policy of imperialism a decisive and realistic position which makes it possible to effectively rebuff the hankerings of the forces of reaction and war. They value highly the restraint and calm confidence of the Soviet leadership, which has not succumbed to provocations and has not transferred relations between the USSR and the United States to the level of "knife edge". There is emphasis here of the exceptional timeliness of the Soviet peace initiatives, which have been put forward at a time when the United States has set the goal of adding a new twist to the arms race spiral and when programs of the creation of qualitatively new types of weapon of mass destruction, particularly the neutron bomb, laser weapons and means of warfare in space, are being adopted one after other there.

At the same time the 26th CPSU Congress showed how great now is the potential of the forces of peace and social progress, which succeeded in the 1970's in

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breaking the "war-peaceful interlude-war" vicious circle and preventing a military catastrophe.

The fraternal parties drew particular attention to the all-embracing, comprehensive nature of the "CPSU's peace charter". Encompassing the most acute, urgent questions of international life, it takes account of the political interests of the communists and the peace forces of all parts of the world and puts forward mobilizing slogans. Foreign friends emphasize the truly democratic content of the congress' foreign policy program: the new Soviet initiatives are addressed both to governments and also to the people's masses and the entire world public.

The 26th CPSU Congress, in the estimation of the fraternal parties, was an expression of solidarity with all forces of national and social liberation, for whom international peace and detente are an important condition of the achievement of the goals of liberation.

This was strikingly and splendidly put on the congress' platform by G. Hall: "You--the Soviet people and the CPSU--can always be proud of your peace mission and your historic contribution to the struggle for peace and detente. You are bringing mankind a priceless gift--salvation from war and nuclear catastrophe. Without your uncompromising, unswerving and heroic dedication to the cause of peace our planet might now be a lifeless heap of nuclear ashes. Yes, socialism is truly the savior of all mankind."*

New possibilities have emerged, the goals have become more specific and attainable, a deeper comprehension of the situation and the tasks is developing and new ideas are arising currently in the antiwar movement in connection with our congress' peace program. Faced with the danger of war, which the U.S. Administration is increasing with its irresponsible actions and statements, the antiwar movement in West Europe has recently assumed proportions probably not seen since the start of the 1950's. This movement has deep roots in the people and unites people of the most diverse views and political beliefs. It is particularly extensive in West Germany. The movement here includes the social democratic masses, many local party organizations and influential figures of the SPD, some "free democrats," certain Bundeswehr generals and religious circles. More than 1 million persons, including many prominent politicians, cultural personalities and journalists, have subscribed to the well-known Krefeld Appeal, which calls on the government to reject the NATO decision to deploy missiles in West Europe. Thousands of FRG citizens participated in "peace marches" in various of the country's lands under slogans of active struggle against the arms race and the deployment of new American intermediate-range nuclear missiles on the territory of West Europe.

There is no country or any part of the worldwhere the Soviet peace initiatives have not evoked interest and not stirred hopes that detente may be preserved and war avoided.

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*"Greetings to the 26th CPSU Congress From Communist, Workers', National-Democratic and Socialist Parties," pp 229-230.

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The United States is engaged in secret and unconcealed actions to force the governments of the NATO countries to curb the antiwar movement, but it is continuing to grow. The broad sweep of the struggle against NATO's nuclear policy is engendering serious concern in those who inspired it. The influential WASHINGTON POST wrote in this connection on 29 March 1981: "A mass movement against nuclear arms is growing and spreading in several of the most important West European countries, which is alarming certain of the West's official representatives on the grounds that this could become a political force strong enough to undermine NATO unity...." This is a significant acknowledgment of the strength of the current upsurge of the antiwar movement, a most active part in which is being taken by the communists.

The foreign policy initiatives of the 26th CPSU Congress serve as a powerful appeal to the peace-loving public to exert every effort in the struggle for peace and against the threat of war. The peoples are persuaded time and again that the standard-bearers of peace and the most selfless fighters against the frenzied maniacs and hawks of the aggressive imperialist circles are the communists.

III

The domestic policy activity of the communist parties of the nonsocialist countries is developing under the most diverse conditions. And this, naturally, imparts a distinctiveness to their strategic and tactical goals. At the same time the effect of the common patterns of the struggle for socialism revealed by Marxism-Leninism and a comparative community of concrete-historical conditions in certain groups of countries and regions of the world are apparent. For this reason important features of similarity are also manifested in the activity of the communist parties of, for example, highly developed capitalist countries, Latin American countries and Asian or African countries.

As a whole, the situation in the nonsocialist part of the world is taking shape under the very strong influence of the further deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, the exacerbation of social contradictions and the increased class--economic and political--struggle.

Developing Lenin's theory of state-monopoly capitalism, our party has proven that the further imperialism goes in its attempts to adapt to the struggle of the two systems and the scientific-technical revolution, the deeper and more complex its socioeconomic contradictions and antagonisms become. Recent years have confirmed the trend toward the increased frequency and deepening of crisis production recessions. The structural crises--energy, currency, financial, ecological and so forth--which are becoming interwoven with increasingly frequent and profound cyclical crises, are continuing. The communists' prediction that state-monopoly regulation is incapable of saving capitalism from crises is being corroborated time and again.

The biggest social enemy of present-day capitalism is unemployment. It has doubled in the last decade in the developed capitalist countries. The number of unemployed is currently approximately 8 million in the United States and

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even more in West Europe--9 million--and in Britain it has approached the level of the start of the 1930's, that is, the period of the so-called "great depression".

Inflation continues rampant. All the attempts of the West's ruling circles to cope with it are failing. Under the banner of fighting inflation the governments are stepping up the offensive against the working class and the working people's living standard and cutting expenditure on social needs, unemployment benefits, education, medical services and so forth. And at the same time orders to the military-industrial complex are increasing sharply and the military budgets are swelling. This is now a typical feature of the policy of the governments of the majority of capitalist countries.

Today, as in the past, ultraright and fascist forces are attempting to use the crisis situation and sociopolitical tension to their own reactionary, sinister ends. This is why the mass work being done by the communist parties aimed at explaining to the working people the true causes and essence of the crisis is so important. This is why such importance is attached to consistent struggle against attempts to overcome the crisis at the expense of the working people.

This now basically determines the main directions of the domestic policy activity of the communist parties of the developed capitalist countries.

For what are the communists in these countries fighting currently?

First, for the right to work and against unemployment. The communists are seeking special measures aimed at preserving jobs. In the United States, Britain, the FRG and other countries they consider the "battle for employment" a priority task. The German Communist Party is insisting that the right to work be enshrined in the country's constitution and in a progressive code of labor laws. The German Communist Party is opposing the shutdown of enterprises and supporting the banning of mass redundacies, a reduction in the work week with full preservation of wages and the comprehensive development of a retraining professional improvement system.

At one time the military-industrial complex had spread the legend quite extensively that increased military production contributed to increased employment. The communists have now completely exposed the falsity of this proposition. The communists are directly linking the fight against increased military spending with the fight for employment.

Second, considering the unprecedented surge of inflation and, simply put, the gigantic rise in prices, the communists are advocating the adoption of really effective anti-inflation measures and defending the working people's living standard.

The Austrian Communist Party and the communist parties of a number of other countries are putting forward the demand for automatic increases in wages linked to increases in prices and taxes. The Communist Party of Great Britain advocates price controls and the establisment of a national minimum wage.

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Communists in the countries of the West and Japan are fighting for strict measures to limit the rise in the prices of goods and services which constitute a particularly large part of the working people's expenditure--food, rent, gas and electricity, transport and so forth. The importance of public price monitoring to be exercised primarily by the trade unions and consumer associations is emphasized here.

In the fight against increased prices the working people of the capitalist countries have before them the example of stable prices for basic products and commodities in the USSR. Delegations from abroad always show a particular interest in this aspect of matters and inquire in detail as to how this is achieved. It is sufficient to say at any meeting, whether in Italy, France, the FRG or Japan, that the prices for bread, sugar and other basic products in our country are currently the same as 20 years ago, while the prices in their countries have doubled and tripled, to elicit an enthusiastic response from those present. The working people in the capitalist countries rightly see the stability of the prices of mass products as a principle of the socialist society reflecting state concern for the man of labor.

In struggling for the day-to-day interests of the working people and supporting their demands the communists at the same time reveal the connection between the immediate, direct tasks of the antimonopoly struggle and the long-term, socialist goals of the workers' movement.

The third area of the struggle of the West's communists is the defense of democratic, including trade union, rights, a repulse of the infringements thereof on the part of the official authorities and governments and implacable struggle against the rightwing danger, which is nurtured by the military-industrial complex. The communists and all democratic forces of West Europe scored palpable successes in this field in the 1970's. The black spots of the fascist regimes in Spain, Portugal and Greece were wiped off the political map of Europe.

The events of recent weeks and months testify, however, that the forces of rightwing extremism are not laying down their arms. An attempt at a fascist putsch was made and the dream of a new Franco is alive among the reactionary military clique in Spain. The reactionary forces are conducting an offensive against the gains of the April revolution in Portugal. In the United States the attempts to drive the country into new McCarthyite hysteria and unleash a new mass terrorist orgy of racists against black Americans and against all democratic forces are becoming increasingly obvious. Attempts to revise the constitution and draw up legislation for the contingency of "extraordinary circumstances" are increasing and militarism is raising its head in Japan.

The problem of terrorism has become very acute. In addition to the United States, a wave of political and criminal terrorism is also deluging other capitalist countries, particularly Italy and Spain. It is rolling toward other capitalist countries also. Terrorism in the modern world is a result and manifestation of the profound putrescence of bourgeois society and the crisis of its political-ideological superstructure and moral degradation and the outcome of the long-standing cultivation of the "law of the strong".

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Together with the rightwing profascist terrorism there is also another variety thereof operating with "ultraleft" slogans. This is, for example, the notorious Red Brigades in Italy and all kinds of anarchist, Trotskiyite and Maoist groups, which objectively, by the nature and consequences of their activity and sometimes organizationally even, close ranks with the neofascists and the CIA. Politically immature elements who have been driven to despair resort to terrorism spontaneously in a number of instances, thinking that something may be achieved in the fight against oppression by such methods, which are harmful in essence and form. The communist parties emphatically condemn terrorism.

If we somehow try to bring all these heterogeneous phenomena and processes together in one, we cannot fail to conclude that, as in the crisis period of the 1930's, in the present phase of crisis for capitalism also it is attempting to resort to methods which in some respects are essentially reminiscent of the 1930's. But the correlation of forces in the world today is totally different from the 1930's. The gigantically increased powerful forces of social progress and democracy oppose the extremist aggressive elements of financial capital, which are again ready to push the world into the abyss of fascism and war. But this by no means signifies that it is possible to display any complacency here and relax vigilance. It is essential to struggle tirelessly and persistently against the threat of war and against the militarist policy of the monoplies and the military-industrial oligarchy. This is what the communist parties are doing.

Fourth, both within the framework of individual capitalist countries and internationally the communist parties and all progressive, democratic forces are confronted increasingly seriously with the problem of struggle against the main force of world capital of our day--the big monopolies--which have crossed national boundaries and become transnational monopolies. The growth of these mighty octopuses is leading to even greater economic instability, the deepening of the crisis processes and new disasters for the masses.

Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's report at the 26th CPSU Congress set Soviet researchers the task of an in-depth, Marxist study of the role of the transnational monoplies and the so-called military-industrial complex, which is also tending to become an imperialist transnational force. Problems of the struggle against the transnational monopolies have already been the subject of discussion at conferences of European communist parties and Marxist scholars.

Under current conditions tremendous significance is attached to the question of the working class' allies. There has been a colossal increase in recent decades in the army of wage workers of intellectual labor--employees and the intelligentsia--in the economically most developed capitalist countries. This is a natural consequence of the process which V.I. Lenin once investigated. "In all spheres of public labor capitalism," he wrote, "increases with particular rapidity the number of employees and makes increasingly great demands on the intelligentsia. This latter occupies a distinctive position among the other classes, associating partly with the bourgeoisie in its relations, views and such partly with the wage workers s capitalism increasingly takes away the intelligentsia's self-sufficient position, makes it a dependent

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wage worker and threatens to lower its living standard."* V.I. Lenin emphasized the tremendous importance of attracting the laboring intelligentsia and employees to the side of the working class and foresaw the significance of their unity. "No shady force," he predicted, "will withstand an alliance of the representatives of science, the proletariat and technology."**

These instructions of Lenin's retain all their significance under current conditions, when the vital interests of the millions-strong masses of the laboring intelligentsia insistently demand unity with the working class. The communist parties are paying increasingly great attention to the specific problems of different groups of the intelligentsia and, in particular, to work among the student youth, lecturers, doctors, those employed in the mass information media and so forth.

It is well known what significance K. Marx, F. Engels and V.I. Lenin attached to the question of the alliance of the working class and the peasantry. On a world scale and within the framework of a tremendous number of countries, primarily of the national liberation zone, the peasantry constitutes a big or still predominant part even of the population. In a number of developed capitalist countries the number of those employed in agriculture has declined considerably as a result of its almost total industrialization. But even here the laboring farmers have retained considerable economic weight and political potential. This can be seen if only in the example of the Common Market, where agricultural policy is a subject of acute disagreements connected with the interests and struggle of precisely this strata of the population.

The position of rural workers in the capitalist countries is becoming particularly difficult at the present time of crisis. The farmers' and peasants' real income is falling from year to year, and they are increasingly being ruined. The communists in a number of countries, including France, Italy and Greece, all the Common Market countries in general and also in the United States, Canada and Japan are paying serious attention to agrarian policy and actively defending the interests of the toiling peasantry.

Big efforts are being made in this area by the French Communist Party [PCF].

The newspaper published by the Communist Party, LA TERRE (THE EARTH), is popular among the peasants.

The communist parties of a number of EEC countries are actively advocating a price policy which guarantees the rural workers sufficient payment for their labor and is supporting the peasantry in the face of the monopolies.

The Communist Party of the United States is resolutely defending the interests of the agricultural workers, poor farmers and owners of family farms and farmers who carry a huge mortgage and debt burden load. The Canadian Communist Party

*V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 4, p 209.
**Ibid., vol 40, p 189.

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is energetically championing the interests of farmers suffering from the "price scissors" and demanding the adoption of effective measures against the plunder of the farmers by the monopolies, big landowners and private banks.

In defending the interests of the working people and organizing them for the struggle for their rights and needs the communists of the capitalist countries understand, of course, that any possible gains in this sphere cannot be stable and long-term without constant and persistent mass struggle. The concrete linkage of this struggle for immediate, partial demands, so to speak, with the struggle for fundamental transformations aimed against the omnipotence of the monopolies and, ultimately, against the state-monopoly system and for socialist goals is highly pertinent and very complex for many communist parties. Speaking from the platform of the 26th CPSU Congress, G. Plissonier, member of the PCF Politburo, expounded the PCF's position on this question thus: "In inspiring the struggle in defense of the working people's interests and for satisfaction of their economic, social and political demands the PCF is at the same time struggling to bring nearer the hour of genuine political changes which will open the way to socialism."*

Many communist parties, the French, German, Japanese, Austrian, Danish and Belgian, for example, have in recent years drawn up programs of profound democratic transformations. They reflect national specifics in each country, of course. But what are the general features typical of the majority of such programs?

Defense of national interests against the transnational monopolies and state-monopoly associations and an aggressive struggle against the encroachments of American imperialism on political sovereignty and the national economy.

Struggle for the nationalization of the most important sectors of the economy and democratic control of both the state and private sectors of the economy.

An endeavor to ensure the democratic planning of the economy with the regard for the interests of the working people.

The demand for profound democratic transformations in the sphere of education, the higher school, health care and social security and in defense and development of the national culture.

Struggle for the extension of democratic rights and the abolition of repressive laws against the worker and democratic movements and for democratization of the army, the security services, the police and the courts.

The communist parties regard realization of these programs as a stage in the continuous process of the persistent struggle of the working class and its allies paving the way toward socialism.

*"Greetings to the 26th CPSU Congress From Communist, Workers', National-Democratic and Socialist Parties," p 262.

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An important zone of the present-day liberation struggle is the Latin American continent. Marxist-Leninist parties operate in many Latin American countries. There are approximately 450,000 communists here (besides socialist Cuba).

In the Latin American countries where fascist regimes rule the communists set as the main priority task the liquidation of fascism and the establishment of a democratic system. According to L. Corvalan, Chilean communists reject the alternatives of fascism or socialism and fascism or bourgeois democracy. They advocate the establishment of a new, democratic popular and national system under which such profound transformations would be effected as would be possible on the basis of an arrangement with political allies.

In countries where bourgeois freedoms have been preserved the communist parties are endeavoring--by means of the association of progressive forces in a broad front or coalition--to impede antidemocratic trends in government policy, counteract the counterrevolutionary alternative and isolate the most reactionary elements and those most closely connected with imperialism. They are persistently pursuing a policy of ensuring the hegemony of the working class for without this the path to fundamental transformations and genuine national independence and social liberation is impossible.

The documents of the 1975 Havana conference of Latin American communist parties observe that the qualitative changes in the socioeconomic development of the countries of the continent have made their mark on the nature and content of the revolutionary process. Its principal feature is the anti-imperialist thrust. "Insofar as American imperialism is our main and common enemy," the conference declaration states, "the strategy and tactics of the revolution in Latin America for those who, like us, believe that its ultimate goal is socialism should be characterized by an anti-imperialist thrust." The main goal of the liberation struggle in Latin America is, as before, the achievement of complete national independence.

An important trend which has made itself known internationally has been the endeavor of many Latin American countries to perform a more independent role. This reflects the growing level of their economic development. The attempts of the imperialist monopolies to continue the unrestricted plunder of the Latin American countries' natural resources are encountering increasingly frequently resistance on the part of the public and the governments. An ever increasing number of countries is opposing the economic and political diktat of the United States.

Imperialism exercises its domination in Latin America via the local ruling classes, primarily the financial-latifundist oligarchy. For this reason the national liberation struggle here is inseparably connected with the struggle against the local financial-latifundist oligarchies, local monopoly capital and, ultimately, capitalism itself.

At the same time the documents of the communist parties point out that although there are already certain material prerequisites for socialism in many

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Latin American countries, revolution here cannot assume a socialist character immediately. A leader of the Argentine Communist Party, R. Ghioldi, wrote: "Our party believes that a democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution will bring closer the stage of socialist revolution and accelerate the moment of transition thereto.... Our party inseparably links its struggle for the country's complete independence and antilatifundist and democratic transformations opening the way to socialism with defense of the cause of peace and disarmament...." As yet, however, the Argentine communists are conducting a difficult struggle for the country's democratic renewal, seeing this as a necessary prerequisite of profound revolutionary transformations of all aspects of the life of society in the future.

The motive forces of revolution in Latin America are the working class, the peasantry and a large part of the middle strata. The most populous ally of the working class is the peasantry. The rural population is suffering not only from the oppression of capital but also precapitalist, feudal forms of exploitation. The communist parties are advocating radical agrarian reforms, the safeguarding of the land of the peasants and agricultural workers and their cooperation. Thus the program of Uruguay's communists proposes the expropriation from the latifundists of the land which is unsuitable for farming and animal husbandry or which is not being cultivated, the transfer of the unutilized land to the small-scale and middle peasants or agricultural cooperatives and the development of new land such as to correspond to the interests of the rural workers; and assistance to the agricultural cooperatives, particularly support for them in the struggle against the big landowners and monopolies.

The present situation in Latin America is characterized by the appearance of elements of a new upsurge of the liberation anti-imperialist struggle following the phase of the counterrevolutionary offensive in the first half of the 1970's. The most striking boosts to this upsurge are the victory of the revolution in Nicaragua and the revolutionary movement of the people of El Salvador.

More than 30 communist parties uniting in their ranks approximately 700,000 members are currently operating in the Asian and African developing countries.

Despite all the difficulties, repression and underground conditions, here also the communist movement is a real political force. The influence of the Communist Party of India and the Syrian Communist Party is growing, the Egyptian Communist Party has been recreated, the Iran People's Party has emerged from the underground, the Tunisian Communist Party has been legalized and the positions of the Lebanese Communist Party, the Communist Party of Sri Lanka and the Communist Party of Bangladesh are strengthening.

The task set by V.I. Lenin of finding concrete forms of cooperation with the peasant movement and striving for the cohesion of all forces interested in the consolidation of national sovereignty and the creation of conditions for the surmounting of technical-economic and cultural backwardness and an improvement in the living conditions of the people's masses remains relevant for Asia's communists.

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The Communist Party of India, Communist Party of Sri Lanka and others are determining their tasks with regard for the situation in their countries and the alignment and correlation of class and political forces. The program of the Communist Party of India says: "Before embarking on the path of socialism and beginning the construction of the socialist society, India has to pass the stage of the completion of the anti-imperialist, antifeudal, democratic revolution."

At a conference held in 1978 communist parties of Arab countries concluded that "the interaction and organic link between the national liberation struggle of the peoples of individual Arab countries and the Arab world as a whole on the one hand and the struggle for social liberation on the other strengthened" in the 1970's. "It is obvious that socioeconomic development is connected both with the struggle against imperialism and the monopolies and against reaction and with the strengthening of relations with the countries of the socialist system."

Our party adopts an understanding and sympathetic attitude toward the activity of the fraternal parties, which are tackling diverse social and national tasks under the specific conditions of their countries and regions. Expressing this internationalist position of the CPSU, Comrade L.I. Brezhnev declared at the 26th party congress: "Soviet communists welcome the communist parties' achievements in the broadening of their ranks, the strengthening of relations with the masses, the championing of the interests of the working class and all working people and their democratic rights and freedoms and the struggle for limiting the omnipotence of the monopolies and curbing the growth of militarism and for a socialist development prospect for their countries."*

The speeches of our communist guests at the 26th CPSU Congress show graphically what great ideological-political support is being rendered our class brothers by the stability and dynamism of the development of the Soviet economy, our social achievements and CPSU policy, which is entirely subordinated to the motto: all for the good of man, all in the name of man.

A considerable contribution to this great cause is being made by our party and its ideological-theoretical and ideological-political work, which is not only of intraparty and domestic political but also international significance. The preparation of a new version of the CPSU Program lies ahead. This will raise our entire theoretical and ideological activity to a new level.

IV

Despite the diversity of the conditions in which the world communist movement's constituent parties operate and despite the difference of the tasks which they are tackling, proletarian internationalism remains its cornerstone.

The common denominator of our movement's diversity and the single final goal set by the communists of different countries is the revolutionary transformation

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 19.

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of society, the victory and establishment of the power of the working class and the people of labor, the building of socialism and lasting peace in this world. Such community continues to determine the nature of the communist movement as an international force. It also fosters the endeavor within the ranks of each communist party to strengthen the ties of fraternity, cooperation and solidarity with their comrades in other countries and to defend the cohesion of the communist movement. It is not fortuitous that our ideological enemies are constantly attacking proletarian internationalism. The 26th CPSU Congress lent powerful new impetus to the strengthening of the internationalist positions in the communist and throughout the revolutionary-liberation movements. This is not only of ideological but also great practical significance.

The congress once again showed as forcefully as could be that talk of proletarian internationalism being "obsolete" is groundless and repudiated by the vast majority of communists. The entire work of the congress and the speeches of the representatives of the fraternal parties are graphic testimony to the vitality of proletarian internationalism, its constant enrichment and its capacity to "imbibe," so to speak, the experience of increasingly new revolutionary forces.

Several main areas in which the efforts of the CPSU Central Committee and its Politburo for the development of international relations with the fraternal parties of the nonsocialist countries are concentrated may be highlighted.

Particular importance is attached to the meetings and talks of L.I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and delegations of our party which he heads with the leaders of the fraternal parties. Talks have been conducted in recent years between L.I. Brezhnev and G. Marchais (1980), E. Berlinguer (1978 and 1979), K. Miyamoto (1979) and R. Rao (1980).

Every year meetings are held in the CPSU Central Committee with dozens of delegations of the fraternal parties. In traveling to the Soviet Union and making a tour of the country these delegations have a chance to familiarize themselves with the CPSU's work experience. Foreign communists see the results of the Soviet people's labor and the successes in socialist competition with their own eyes. And I would like to stress particularly here the role of our republic, kray, oblast and other local party organizations, which, receiving delegations and representatives of the communist and revolutionary-democratic parties, are making their big and very important contribution to the strengthening of international relations. This is a matter of tremendous political importance and practical implementation of the policy of party congresses aimed at the strengthening of internationalist solidarity between the CPSU and the Soviet people and the communists of other countries.

In turn, delegations of our party regularly participate in the biggest undertakings of foreign communist parties, in the work of party congresses and in press celebrations. This strengthens the ties of friendship and mutual understanding and comradeship and affords an opportunity for us to inform our friends in detail at "first hand," so to speak, of CPSU activity and the great creative feat of our people, who have created the world's first society of developed socialism and who are proceeding successfully toward communism, and to describe our country's very rich spiritual life and Soviet democracy.

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The CPSU has a perfectly defined position concerning divergences and disagreements in the communist movement. If it is a question of "different readings" with respect to individual, concrete questions of the class struggle brought about by dissimilarity of conditions, this is one thing. Such differences are surmountable. In any event, they should not serve as an obstacle to political cooperation, particularly on international issues, the less so in that it is precisely joint participation in the common struggle which is the best method of gradually surmounting differences. "Disagreements in principle between revolutionaries and reformists and between creative Marxism and dogmatic sectarianism and leftist adventurism are," as Comrade L.I. Brezhnev said at the 26th CPSU Congress, "quite another."*

A particular issue is the critical judgments which are sometimes expressed in certain communist parties in connection with this aspect of our country's development or the other. Soviet people by no means believe that our society has reached the limit of perfection. We have problems and difficulties, and the CPSU does not hide them. This was also discussed candidly at the congress--both in the CPSU Central Committee Report and in the speeches of the delegates. The CPSU values good wishes and advice as manifestations of friendly concern for the common cause. "We listen attentively to comradely, constructive criticism," Comrade L.I. Brezhnev observed. "But we emphatically oppose 'criticism' which distorts socialist reality and thereby wittingly or unwittingly does imperialist propaganda and the class enemy a service."**

It is for this reason that many fraternal parties believe it wrong altogether to counterpose to the vital and constantly developing socialism which actually exists and which has been conditioned historically plans of a future socialist society which it is ideally proposed to create in this country or the other. A. Cunhal, general secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party Central Committee, wrote: "...we believe that however great the distinctiveness of the program of a communist party of a capitalist country, this program cannot be counterposed to socialism such as it is. It should be counterposed to the capitalist society, irrespective of its political regime. Counterposing one's own program of the building of socialism to the reality of the socialist countries would inevitably lead to a weakening of the struggle for socialism in one's own country."

As far as the right to national specifics is concerned, the CPSU holds firmly to Leninist standpoints on this issue, regarding consideration of concrete national conditions not only legitimate but also obligatory. Without this, not a single party is capable of becoming a real political force in its own country. The 26th CPSU Congress gave a reminder of this thought of Lenin's: all nations will arrive at socialism, this is inevitable, but not all will arrive identically, each lending distinctiveness to the process of the transformation of social life.*** Despite the spiteful assertions of bourgeois

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 17.
**Ibid.
***See V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 30, p 123.

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propaganda, the CPSU has not imposed and is not now imposing on anyone any stereotypes and outlines which ignore the particular features of this country or the other. Practice shows that in each country where socialism is victorious the forms, methods and paths of socialist transformation and the creation and strengthening of the foundations of socialism are distinguished by their singularities. There is, therefore, no reason to speak of any "standardization" and contrast communist parties according to recognition or nonrecognition of the paths of the reorganization of society for which they have opted.

Soviet communists and all Soviet people value highly foreign communists' manifestation of international solidarity with us, treasure it and derive strength and inspiration from it. From the platform of the 26th CPSU Congress the representatives of communist and other progressive parties emphatically rebuffed anti-Sovietism, which is particularly important under the present conditions of exacerbation of the antagonism of the two systems. A thought was pursued in many speeches which has to be supported: repudiation of anti-Sovietism is a fundamental criterion of a class, internationalist position.

Not only imperialism but the Chinese leadership also has been endeavoring particularly assiduously for many years now to impose anti-Sovietism and drag it into the communist ranks. For two decades it has been trying out various tactics of undermining the positions of the communist parties. Initially it took the path of knocking together Maoist groupings in various countries, which it used in the struggle against the communist movement. But this tactic went bankrupt. Nowhere were pro-Beijing proteges able to create viable political organizations. The majority of them has by now collapsed. Utilizing a selective approach, so to speak, under the mask of "normalization of relations," the Chinese leadership has now adopted a course aimed at counterposing certain communist parties to our party. The anti-Soviet and anti-socialist purpose of these maneuvers is obvious. For this reason establishing and developing interparty relations with the Beijing leadership under the present conditions means indirectly approving its dangerous foreign policy course, which is geared to a compact with imperialism.

It should be said that a rapid process of disenchantment with Maoism is now under way and that the "new" tactics of the Chinese leadership are also doomed to fail.

The present-day communist movement has a rich and long history. Deriving lessons from its difficult experience, over six-plus decades it has formulated standards of relations between parties which in the present situation also ensure the conditions for the preservation of the ideological-political health and fighting efficiency of our great movement. Affirming the CPSU's fidelity to these standards, our party's 26th congress contributed to a strengthening of its Marxist-Leninist foundations.

V

Among the processes of world significance an increasingly big role is being performed by the national liberation movement. The key question of its development in our time is the question of revolutionary democracy. What does it represent and what is its social essence? It is a bloc of anti-imperialist, progressive forces which is based primarily on the peasant masses

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and semiproletarian urban strata, radical circles of the intelligentsia and the progressive military. The fact that it advocates a socialist choice and strives for its practical realization is what determines revolutionary democracy as a political movement and ideological current.

Its increased role in the world revolutionary process is manifested:

first, in the growth of the number of revolutionary-democratic parties and the extension of their influence on the masses;

second, in the increased number of countries which have opted for a socialist orientation or proclaimed a socialist path of development;

third, in the increased gravitation toward scientific socialism, which marks a further stage of the spread of Marxist-Leninist teaching; and

finally, in the development and strengthening of cooperation and allied relations with actual socialism and the communist parties.

The following data attest the numerical growth of the revolutionary-democratic parties. Whereas at the start of the 1960's there were approximately 10 such parties, there are now approximately 40 of them. There are in practice very few remaining countries liberated from colonialism where revolutionary-democratic forces do not operate in one form or another.

Of course, there have been losses. There has been a degeneration in places of the leadership of revolutionary-democratic parties, which have descended to reactionary, rightwing-nationalist position and positions of class collaboration with imperialism. Egypt and Somalia are the most typical cases. But such deviations are isolated. Moreover, even where revolutionary democracy was at one time defeated, in Ghana or Mali, say, it is once again making its presence felt as a serious political force and striving for the restoration of its positions.

The states headed by revolutionary-democratic parties have switched to an offensive against the positions of imperialism in their countries' economies and are endeavoring to restrict capitalist relations. There are currently approximately 20 such states, and their population constitutes roughly 160 million. While 20 years ago there were only 4 such countries, with a population of 50 million.

An objective pattern of this process was revealed by V.I. Lenin. It was he who substantiated for the first time the possibility for individual countries of bypassing or reducing the capitalist stage of development. Lenin predicted that the struggle of the majority of mankind against colonial oppression, dependence and backwardness would develop directly into a struggle against capitalism and, moreover, that the peoples which had lagged behind in their development would be able to rely on the countries where socialism had been victorious. Life has fully corroborated the correctness of this brilliant piece of foresight.

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The upsurge of the revolutionary national movement is leading to increasingly new countries falling away from the imperialist system, combat revolutionary parties emerging and new leaders coming to the fore. Who even recently knew the names of Comrades Mengistu Haile Mariam, Babrak Karmal, Ali Nasir Muhammad, Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Samora Machel! Yet they now head states with populations of 15, 20 and 30 million even, as, for example, in Ethiopia.

The countries of a socialist orientation have become a dynamic force internationally and an important positive factor of world politics. Their voice is being heard attentively in the nonaligned movement, the United Nations and other international organizations, they are playing an increasingly active part in the struggle for peace and are cooperating with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states.

The emergent countries' development along a progressive path, L.I. Brezhnev emphasized in the CPSU Central Committee Report to the 26th party congress, is occurring dissimilarly and under complex conditions, but the main directions are similar. The positions of the imperialist monopolies, local haute bourgeoisie and the feudal lords are gradually being wound up in these countries. The commanding heights in the economy are being secured for the people's state. A transition to the planned development of the production forces is under way. A cooperative movement in the countryside is being encouraged. A process of the strengthening of the revolutionary parties is under way, the role of the working people people's masses in social life is increasing and the machinery of state is being reinforced with national personnel devoted to the people. The anti-imperialist nature of their foreign policy is typical of all these countries.* The analysis of the general patterns of the development of the emergent countries made in L.I. Brezhnev's report is an important contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory on this question.

These patterns are reflected differently in different countries. Some are only just embarking on revolutionary transformations, in others the process of socioeconomic renewal is quite well advanced and has acquired considerable scope and depth. In this case it is legitimate to talk about them no longer simply as countries of a socialist orientation but as states which have opted for a path of socialist development. The main thing is that the position of such countries become increasingly strong and stable. All historical experience testifies that for this it is necessary:

to have a revolutionary party leading society and operating on the basis of scientific socialism;

to strengthen the organs of democratic power from top to bottom;

to prepare and train party and state personnel devoted to the working people's masses and the ideals of socialism;

*See "Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 12.

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to strengthen national armed forces capable of defending the people's gains;

to constantly extend the relations of the party and the state with the masses and enlist the working people in the running of public affairs;

to pursue a correct economic and social policy providing for the strengthening of the country's independence, a rise in the level of production and an improvement in the population's life; and

to develop relations with the socialist countries—the most faithful and dependable friends of independent freedom-loving states.

In the majority of countries which have opted for the path of socialist changes a process of the formation of parties of the revolutionary vanguard which are ideologically and organizationally cohesive and capable of being an effective instrument of the ideological training and political leadership of the masses is developing. Such parties have already been created in South Yemen, Angola, Afghanistan, Mozambique, Congo and Benin. Such a party is also taking shape in Ethiopia and certain other countries.

These parties recognize the principles of proletarian internationalism. Their primary organizations are being created in accordance with the production-territorial principle. A strictly individual method. Communication with the people performs a tremendous role. Life teaches that only a party which lives in the thick of the people, knows their mood and aspirations and is able to approach the masses and win their trust is capable of providing for the practical implementation of the policy of a socialist orientation.

A most important sphere of the activity of parties of the revolutionary vanguard is an economic policy which affords an opportunity for simultaneously creating a new material-technical base and improving the life of the working people. The decisive moment and, it may be said, turning point guaranteeing the success of a socialist orientation is the achievement of a position where the working people really perceive the fruits of the revolution, and not only in the moral-political sense--in the sphere of the human dignity and respect for the man of labor which has been found--moreover, but also in the sphere of a marked improvement in material conditions.

The experience of the building of the foundations of the new society accumulated by the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries is of great value for the states which have embarked on the path of socialist changes. It is not, of course, a question of some copying of our models. The paths of the transition to socialism are manifold. The practice of the countries of a socialist orientation is contributing and will continue to contribute much that is new here. And it is understandable that each of them aspires to find forms and methods of transformations which will correspond to concrete conditions and national singularities.

A striking demonstration of the CPSU's relations with revolutionary democracy was its representatives' extensive participation in the 26th CPSU Congress. Whereas in 1961 delegations of only 3 revolutionary-democratic parties and

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organizations attended the 22d congress at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee, there were 36 of them at the 26th congress.

The forms of the CPSU's relations with the revolutionary democrats are manifold. They consist primarily of the development of the mutual exchange of party and party-government delegations. Party and party-government delegations from Angola and Afghanistan, Algeria and South Yemen, Ethiopia and Mozambique, Congo, Kampuchea and other countries visited the USSR in 1980 alone at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Government. Cooperation on a planned basis is exercised with the ruling parties of Afghanistan, Angola, South Yemen, Benin, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, the Cape Verde Islands, the People's Republic of Congo, Tanzania and Mali.

At the request of many of the revolutionary-democratic parties the CPSU renders them diverse assistance in the training of party personnel. More than 1,600 of their activists are being trained in party, Komsomol and trade union educational institutions of the USSR. Literature in 45 foreign languages and hundreds of books and brochures of political subject matter are published in the Soviet Union. Their total print in 1979 was 15 million copies. The revolutionary-democratic parties are being rendered assistance in the organization of party schools and the creation of a base for their own press.

The international conference on the theme "Joint Struggle of the Workers' and National Liberation Movements Against Imperialism and for Social Progress" in October 1980 in Berlin was a major landmark in strengthening the alliance of world socialism, the working class of the capitalist countries and the revolutionary-democratic forces of national liberation. It demonstrated the revolutionary-democratic parties' growing gravitation toward cohesion with world socialism and the profound concurrence of the interests and positions of the three main revolutionary streams of the present day.

The policy of the further strengthening of the CPSU's allied relations with the revolutionary-democratic forces constitutes a most important element of the CPSU's overall policy of the unity of world socialism and the national liberation movement. This policy was confirmed as emphatically as could be by the 26th party congress.

VI

In the struggle for the interests of the working class and all working people the communists consider it their duty, as V.I. Lenin taught, to actively develop cooperation with other democratic forces. These also include social democracy.

Present-day social democracy, Comrade L.I. Brezhnev observed in the report at the 26th CPSU Congress, possesses considerable political weight. Indeed, in the majority of West European countries, including the NATO countries, socialist and social democratic parties perform a pronounced and important role in political life and in a number of instances head governments or participate in them. Consequently, the development of the international situation largely depends on the positions of social democracy and the activeness of the millions of its supporters.

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Guided by the decisions of the 24th and 25th congresses, throughout the 1970's the CPSU endeavored consistently to develop relations with the socialists and social democrats. It thereby made its contribution to realization of the common purpose of the world communist movement of the strengthening of the joint efforts of the political parties and organizations operating in the ranks of the working class, particularly on questions of war and peace. This was expressed in the work and summary documents of, inter alia, the Berlin conference and the Paris meeting of European communists.

The CPSU now maintains relations with 20 socialist and social democratic parties—mainly on questions of the struggle against the danger of war. The contacts with the leadership of the Socialist International, the participation of CPSU representatives in the Socialist International's disarmament conference (Helsinki, 1978), the contacts with the working group which it set up for this problem and the reception of its delegation by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev and in the CPSU Central Committee (1979) were important.

Questions of mutual relations with the socialists and social democrats are constantly within the sights of the communists of the capitalist countries also. The fraternal parties of West Europe are doing much to achieve better mutual understanding with the socialists and social democrats in the interests of the joint struggle for the common goals of the workers' movement and peace-loving forces. Of course, the positions of each communist party on this question have their own particular features brought about by concrete circumstances.

The decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress on international issues were perceived positively in social democratic circles. The Executive Committee of Great Britain's Labor Party passed unanimously a resolution which said that the Laborites "welcome President L.I. Brezhnev's statement at the 26th CPSU Congress" and express support for the Soviet peace initiatives. SPD Chairman W. Brandt, who is also president of the Socialist International, said: "I wish to say in all seriousness that the West would be following bad advice if it did not first study these proposals and make full use of the opportunities for negotiation."

There was support at meetings of social democratic leaders of Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg, Denmark and Norway in 1981 for the position of the Dutch and Belgian socialists,who insist on their countries' refusal to allow the deployment of new American missiles there. At a conference of social democratic leaders in Paris (March 1981) there was criticism of U.S. policy, which is aimed at the achievement of military superiority over the USSR, and expressions of concern at the increase in the American military budget and attempts to foist the neutron weapon on West Europe. Certain speakers pointed directly to the fact that the deterioration of the world situation began with NATO's decision in the fall of 1978 on a 3-percent increase in military budgets and as a result of the nonratification of the SALT II Treaty. Social democratic figures paid great attention to the Soviet peace initiatives put forward by the 26th CPSU Congress.

We believe, and this was stated directly at our party's 26th congress, that social democracy could be doing more to defend the peoples' vital interests, primarily to strengthen peace. As is known, the social democratic leaders far from always operate in this direction in practice.

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The propositions concerning the role of social democracy expressed by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev from the platform of the congress are undoubtedly a subject for serious reflection both for leading personalities and also for the ordinary members of the social democratic parties. Both the big opportunities of social democracy and its great historical responsibility for the cause of peace and the peoples' security were emphasized anew. Once again the communists extended the hand to the social democrats for joint struggle for man's delivering from new devastating wars and the salvation of peace.

All that has been said, of course, by no means removes the need to continue the ideological struggle, particularly against anticommunism in the ranks of social democracy. At talks with social democratic personalities our party's representatives consistently defend positions of principle and tell our interlocutors plainly where we disagree with them and what we consider incorrect and unacceptable. And, if necessary, there is always a public repudiation of anti-Soviet and anticommunist attacks on the part of some social democratic personality or the other.

The 26th CPSU Congress demonstrated convincingly the aspiration of the vast majority of communist, workers' and revolutionary-democratic parties to a strengthening of relations and cooperation with our party. They value highly its authority, its tremendous potential in the struggle for peace, security and social progress and its immutable internationalist line. Solidarity on the part of the present-day revolutionary forces is also helping us tackle the tasks set by the congress.

Of course, the class enemy undertakes everything to break up the revolutionary and democratic forces. The pressure of the ruling bourgeoisie in the capitalist camp is still very great. An entire system of special state and interstate machinery for anticommunist, anti-Soviet activity has been created. The CIA has a special department for combating communism. Mountains of books have been written against communism and against our ideology and policy. The newspapers, radio and television and verbal propaganda engage in this by the day and by the hour. In a word, the struggle continues and will continue to spread.

As a whole, however, an irresistible process of the strengthening of the positions of peace and socialism is under way. The ideas of communism are continuing their successful march around the world. The people's masses have become involved in active political life on a scale unprecedented even in history's most stormy periods. And this is the surest guarantee of the world revolutionary process' unswerving, ongoing development.

Proceeding from the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, the CPSU, as a part of the communist movement, sees as its task:

developing even more actively joint actions with the fraternal parties in the struggle for the accomplishment of the main historical task of the current moment: preventing the growth of the danger of war, preserving and consolidating detente and preventing imperialism from adding a new, most dangerous twist to the arms race spiral;

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contributing to the cohesion and mutual understanding of the revolutionary and other democratic, progressive forces in the face of the adventurist, aggressive and neocolonialist plans and actions of imperialism and in support of the peoples' just liberation struggle; and

consistently championing the principles of the eternally vital revolutionary teaching of Marxism-Leninism in the name of consolidation of the communist movement on an internationalist, class basis.

Lenin and our party played an exceptionally important part in the inception and development of the present-day communist movement. Taking the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress as a basis, Soviet communists will continue to do everything within their power for a strengthening of its positions, an increase in its influence and the growth of its authority.

* P.N. Demichev, candidate of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of culture: "The 26th CPSU Congress and the Tasks of Cultural Building"

In pondering and analyzing the documents of the 26th CPSU Congress, this outstanding event of our time, we are all attemtping to find the right paths of the practical implementation of its ideas and conclusions with reference to the spheres of our own activity and our own areas of work.

Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's report "CPSU Central Committee Report to the 26th CPSU Congress and the Party's Priority Tasks in the Sphere of Domestic and Foreign Policy" gave the Lenin Party's clear, scientifically substantiated and principled answer to all key questions of the present-day.

I

The main directions of the accomplishment of the economic, social, political, ideological and international tasks determined by the party congress are also related to the main directions of cultural building in the USSR. The CPSU Central Committee Report to the 26th party congress and the Main Directions of the USSR's Economic and Social Development in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990 which were confirmed by the congress set the sphere of culture and art new tasks of a grand social scale corresponding to the demands of the stage of developed socialism.

What is the essence of these tasks?

Modern production and socialist social relations presuppose a high standard of labor and social life, the political and moral culture of the masses and each person's active position in life. And this, in turn, cannot fail to influence the entire cultural sphere.

The party's policy formulated by the congress, which is aimed at the intensive development of the economy, makes higher demands on a person's education, vocational training and general culture.

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The industrial development of new regions and the need for the equalization of social differences territorially bring forward tasks of the accelerated development of the entire sociocultural complex in Siberia and the Far East, in the RSFSR's nonchernozem zone and in other areas and oblasts of the country. A system of measures is envisaged aimed at a further increase in the role of culture and art in the communist education of the working people, an improvement in cultural services for the population, the planning of cultural building, the training of personnel and the further development of culture's material base.

In order to cope successfully with these tasks it is necessary to emphatically improve the entire system of management of the cultural sphere. Fundamental significance is attached to a creative approach to matters and the ability to refine work forms and methods under current conditions. As Comrade L.I. Brezhnev emphasized, the forms should be brought into line with the changing tasks. Many urgent problems of cultural building objectively require the combination of the efforts of the state authorities, creative unions and various interested organizations.

The significant increase in a number of republics in the number of citizens of nonindigenous nationality with their specific requirements is confronting the cultural sphere with its own urgent problems, which need to be tackled correctly.

The 26th CPSU Congress emphasized the need for an increase in the role of literature and art in the communist education of the working people and the molding of a Marxist-Leninist world outlook and the fuller satisfaction of Soviet people's diverse spiritual requirements.

The wide-ranging and effective measures outlined by the party for an improvement in work conditions and family recreation and the increased attention to mothers also require a further refinement of the system of cultural services for the working people.

The practice of cultural cooperation and cultural exchanges with foreign countries must be brought fully into line with the foreign policy course formulated by the congress and the tasks of the ideological struggle in the international arena.

As you can see, the congress determined the main tasks and requirements of the cultural sphere expansively and at the same time concretely. Their social and ideological substantiation, which is also backed up by our increased potential, was revealed with exceptional persuasiveness. The country possesses a solid material base, a large detachment of skilled personnel and accumulated experience of the implementation of large-scale cultural measures for successfully tackling the tasks put forward by the 26th CPSU Congress.

The USSR Ministry of Culture has formulated a plan of basic measures for implementation of the decisions of the party congress in which the development

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of culture and art has been organically connected with the prospects of the country's socioeconomic development and the demands put forward in Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's report. The decisive surmounting of formalism and departmental and bureaucratic barriers, the creation of a dependable personnel reserve and increased supervision and verification of the fulfillment of adopted decisions--all these are essential conditions for success.

Speaking of the current stage of cultural activity, it is important to mention two aspects of the question: new specific requirements and tasks and the preservation of continuity in cultural policy. This must not be forgotten under the conditions of the coming into being of a new social system. Plunging from side to side in cultural policy, as is happening in China, is fraught with extraordinarily dangerous consequences.

Our party regarded the cultural revolution as a principal task under the conditions of the transition from capitalism to socialism and the building of the foundations of the socialist society. This was dictated by two main features. First, the general cultural backwardness of tsarist Russia. Despite the high achievements in individual spheres of literature, art and science and despite individual outstanding talents, the country as a whole was characterized by a culture lag compared with the most developed capitalist countries of the West. This was expressed primarily in the mass illiteracy of the population, the lack of access for the broad people's masses to higher education and the best achievements of culture and in the extremely backward outlying regions of tsarist Russia. Second, it was necessary to smash the reactionary ideological and social basis of the prevailing landowner-bourgeois culture with its class and caste nature, chauvinistic and nationalistic saturation and clerical, Black Hundred ideas. The successful accomplishment of the cultural revolution enabled us to tackle these tasks, create a socialist culture and mold a new type of individual capable in deed and practice of building the socialist society.

The problems of cultural building acquire new characteristics under the conditions of mature socialism. Comrade L.I. Brezhnev observed at the 26th party congress that currently three-fourths of workers have secondary (complete and incomplete) and higher education. The country has universal secondary education. Every fourth worker is now connected with brain work, in the main. Consequently, we are now dealing, to speak of the bulk of the population and not individual groups, with a qualitatively new person with increased material and spiritual requirements and a creative potential of the entire people which has increased many times over.

An important singularity of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress is that the objective requirements of developed socialism are examined in them through the prism both of the actual conditions and possibilities of the current stage of communist building and also the concrete practical tasks confronting the country. The specifics of these tasks are determined by a number of factors, which are having an increasingly profound impact on various aspects of social life.

First, the impact of the scientific-technical revolution on the processes of communist building. It is essential now that the builder of the new society

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not only possess the fundamentals of modern learning but also constantly renew them in accordance with the objective requirements of scientific-technical progress. And this, in turn, requires the development of the creative potential of the personality and a capacity for adapting to changing production conditions.

Second, the improvement in socialist social relations and the development of democratic principles of management are making increasingly high demands on a person's level of consciousness and civic responsibility.

Third, the working people's increased free time has posed the question of its productive use by the broad masses, and this, in turn, is having an impact on production and people's social and personal life.

Thus the all-around, harmonious development of the personality combining a high professional culture corresponding to the conditions of the scientific-technical revolution, high political and moral culture corresponding to the current requirements of communist building, high spiritual requirements and culture of everyday life--these are not good wishes and not merely our ideal but actual demands of all present-day social life. It is not fortuitous that the party orients us toward a comprehensive approach to the education of Soviet man which embraces labor, ideological-political and moral training.

The task of a comprehensive approach to educational work was set with all clarity and certainty at the 26th CPSU Congress, and the entire party and various organizations and departments--our entire system of education and ideological activity and literature and art--were included in its accomplishment.

If the general meaning of the new tasks put forward in Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's report at the 26th party congress is considered from this viewpoint, it consists of a significant increase in the social and ideological effectiveness of the entire sphere of culture. This demand is a natural development of the conclusions of the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses, which stressed the constantly growing role of culture and art in communist building and Soviet man's education. It is a question, inter alia, of new, more profound social functions of culture and art characteristic of the conditions of developed socialism.

What is the meaning of these?

First, the impact of culture in various forms now encompasses not comparatively narrow strata of the population but multimillion-strong masses and practically the entire Soviet people.

Second, art in its specific forms is becoming a factor of the formation of man's vital environment, influencing him via the entire spectrum of artistic culture: architecture and monumental art, music, the mass development of amateur creativity, design and so forth.

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Third, having become generally accessible thanks to their mass character and thanks to the development of radio and television and the stage and movie theater, literature and art are exerting an increasingly broad and effective influence on the formation of people's world outlook and world perception, assisting comprehension of social and moral problems, contributing to the enrichment of the spiritual world of the personality and influencing the inculcation of artistic tastes.

Fourth, art is becoming, together with physical culture and sport, a key factor of the harmonious development of the personality. The entire system of contemporary culture is intended to shape spiritually a person who naturally and organically becomes a part of life as an active participant in communist building and a person who correctly understands the objective requirements of the current stage of society's development.

An increase in culture's social and ideological effectiveness demands of all workers of this sphere a clear understanding of the main goals and a constant quest for the most effective forms and methods of their activity. It is important to see both our unutilized potential and the entire spectrum of specific tasks, which is exceptionally broad. We can and must with cultural resources mold a correct attitude toward our social system and the moral code of the builder of socialism and respect for Soviet laws, rules of law and the USSR Constitution; and shape a solicitous attitude toward socialist ownership, public property, natural resources and nature.

Culture can and must become an increasingly weighty factor of international education with regard for the fact that the most complex economic and political tasks are now being tackled by the joint efforts of the peoples and nations not only of our country but of the fraternal socialist countries also and with regard also for the USSR's ever increasing assistance to the developing countries.

Under the conditions of extensive international spiritual mutual influence socialist culture is becoming an even more important factor of correct ideological and aesthetic education and an important area of the ideological struggle. In connection with the exacerbation of the international situation and the attempts of reactionary U.S. circles and the Beijing hegemonists to capsize detente and revive the "cold war" there is an increase in the role of socialist culture as a factor of the assertion of the ideas of humanism and peace between peoples and social progress.

The increased significance of socialist culture in the formation of the new social mentality also demands the correct determination of the goals of our cultural policy. The CPSU has always been guided in the formulation of cultural policy by a Leninist approach and Leninist ideas, which remain definitive for us. And now, commemorating the 111th anniversary of V.I. Lenin's birth, we perceive particularly keenly the great invigorating force of Lenin's thoughts and Lenin's ideas.

In the 1970's the CPSU and the Soviet Government adopted a whole number of decrees determining the practical solution of the main problems of cultural building--from the development of library work, the amateur arts and folk

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handicrafts through problems of the creative youth. The all-union conference of cultural workers (1979) and Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's greetings to its participants were of importance for the solution of urgent questions of cultural building.

The CPSU Central Committee decree "A Further Improvement in Ideological and Political Education" views cultural problems in organic connection with the entire system of the formation of the new man. The decisions of the 24th, 25th and 26th party congresses and also CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decrees on questions of culture and art and Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's speeches and theoretical works not only determine concrete tasks but also formulate a precise strategic line in cultural building at the current stage.

What are the main directions of this strategic line of the party?

First, implementation of a policy of the achievement of constant correspondence between the country's socioeconomic development and the development of the spiritual life of society and its culture.

Second, the assertion of the correct ideological thrust, communist party-mindedness and high artistic level of socialist art and the strengthening of its ties to the life of the people and communist building.

Third, an increase in the social and ideological effectiveness of the entire sphere of culture and its increased influence on the solution of problems of the working people's communist education, the strengthening of the friendship of the USSR peoples and the formation in each individual of an active position in life, advanced morals and ideological conviction.

Fourth, an increase in the impact of the cultural sphere and art on the solution of key problems of scientific-technical progress, the creation of a favorable moral-political climate in the labor collectives and the erasure of the essential differences between city and countryside.

II

In analyzing the development of contemporary Soviet art we cannot fail to see its positive impact on various aspects of social life.

A successful stage performance and motion picture, a patriotic play, talented book and painting and so forth containing an idea which is comprehensible and intelligible to a person convinces him graphically and has an emotional impact on him. The artistic image has its strong points in this respect.

Of course, art cannot substitute for propaganda, agitation or other forms of ideological-political education. At the same time it has an increasingly pronounced role in the cultivation of the personality's active position in life. It is impossible to mold such a position without inculcating social sentiments, including those of justice, class hatred of the enemies of social progress and peace and humanism.

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The Main Directions of the USSR's Economic and Social Development in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990 put forward the task of promoting the development of socialist culture and art and enhancing their role in the formation of people's Marxist-Leninist world outlook. It is essential that this task be correctly understood. Art cannot be a simple illustration of theory and some idea or the other thereof and of conclusions and propositions. Abstract, coldly intellectual and oversimplified art inevitably departs from the principles of realism and loses its power of persuasion.

There is also the danger when, in the name of erroneously interpreted "realism," the artist departs from the presentation of big social problems, becomes enclosed within a circle of trifling, philistine interests, laying it on thick and concentrating attention only on the murky aspects of life, and ceases to see what is most important and determining in it. Such an approach leads to the emasculation of the high ideological content of art and ideological indiscriminateness. Comrade L.I. Brezhnev paid particular attention to this aspect of matters. "...Manifestations of a lack of progressive ideas, world-outlook indiscriminateness," he emphasized, "and a departure from a precise class-based evaluation of individual historical events and figures are capable of harming the work even of gifted people." It is therefore necessary "to be assertive and scrupulous in instances where works disparaging our Soviet reality appear. We must be implacable here."*

The CPSU Central Committee once made a high-minded evaluation of the attempts to discredit Soviet reality. This permitted a recuperation of the situation and the creation of a normal creative atmosphere in literature and art and the preservation of many men of letters and artists from the wrong path.

Of course, no one is advocating a return to a varnishing of reality and the creation of works which paint idyllic pictures of social life and avoid real problems and difficulties. In this case literature and art would be indulging in a kind of social blindness and an inability to see the real purveyors of social evil--people infected with a consumerist mentality, grasping sentiments and bureaucratism, the purveyors of a variety of prejudices and, sometimes, simply idlers, drunkards, parasites and professional incompetents, that is, all who are impeding our advance. As practice shows, the negative type can represent only a serious social danger, and the task is to spot this phenomenon in good time, expose it and show its incompatibility with the standards of communist morality and the socialist way of life.

We cannot deny the complexity of the artistic interpretation of socialist building and its real difficulties and sometimes contradictions even. The artist has a right to have his say here. At the same time we frequently also encounter the insufficient depth of the artistic penetration of the dialectics of social life, an inability to find the correct paths of psychological impact on the reader, viewer and audience, the insufficient assimilation of material and a disregard for artistic form.

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 62.

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To rectify such shortcomings literary-artistic criticism should arm itself with the entire set of tools of an analysis of art phenomena. Only an in-depth, comprehensive understanding of social processes and the phenomena of spiritual life is a prerequisite of really convincing, fruitful criticism. If they are both concerned for the progress of socialist art and the assertion of the truth of life and communist building, the artist and the critic act as allies in the common cause. And here the truth is higher than anything, higher than all personal ambitions, sympathies and antipathies.

The shaping of people's Marxist-Leninist world outlook by means of art is a creative, highly artistic process of the creation of realistic characters of revolutionaries and representatives of the people and the people of labor who by their entire life assert the principles of the new society. Integrity of character, lively convincing humanity and irreconcilability to all that is alien to socialist ideals--these character traits of the hero of our time grow from life and the logic of communist building. And they must be portrayed in art correctly and with great artistic power. A Marxist-Leninist world outlook is blended here, as it were, with man's typical traits and his way of life. It is such an approach which can enhance the world-outlook role of socialist art. The development of soviet art is based on the scientifically substantiated Leninist principles of party-mindedness and national character which have been verified by life itself. The method of socialist realism determines the thrust of Soviet art and inseparable connection with the affairs of the party and the life of the party.

It is also obvious that a rise in art's world-outlook role is inseparably connected with its active turnabout toward contemporary subjects in the broad meaning of this word. The contemporary theme is expressed in diverse manner in theatrical and musical works, in song and in fine art.

Evaluating the development of Soviet art in the years which had elapsed since the 26th CPSU Congress, Comrade L.I. Brezhnev said: "It is the business of literary critics and art historians to pass professional judgment. But I believe that all readers, viewers and audiences feel that a new tidal wave is rising in Soviet art. Many gifted works have appeared in recent years, and in all republics, furthermore. This applies to literature and the stage, motion pictures and music and painting and sculpture."* This is a high evaluation, inspiring all workers of Soviet culture and personalities of literature and art to new accomplishments.

This high evaluation at the same time sets a responsible task. When we speak of a "tidal wave" in art, we refer to the definite start of its high upsurge and the creation of the prerequisites for this. But for the upsurge to become a reality in all spheres of art a high level of quality of the works and their ideological thrust, the interpretation of big themes and urgent problems and high artistic and professional skill are essential.

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 61.

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Under current conditions, as the CPSU Central Committee decree "A Further Improvement in Ideological and Political Education" observed, it is necessary to pay special attention "to the creation of significant new works of literature and art which giftedly portray the Soviet people's heroic accomplishments and the problems of the development of the socialist society...."*

The CPSU Central Committee Report to the 26th party congress emphasized the significance of the works of literature and art in which lofty revolutionary motives resound and striking characters of ardent revolutionaries who teach love for the motherland and stanchness in trials are created, which show images of our contempories and the complex inner world of the personality and pose in depth questions of morality, participating actively thereby in the solution of the problems lived by Soviet society.

Soviet classics of literature and art are distinguished by the fact that they have created the image of a positive hero asserting progressive communist principles and ideals and providing by example an answer to key questions--how to live, for what to fight and the purpose of the life of the builder of the new society. These questions acquire their own specific features and singularities at every stage of communist building. The answer to them requires profound reflection, which, embodied in art, convinces people and helps them find the right path in life. And the fact that a trend toward the increasingly profound interpretation of current problems, the positive ideal and the hero of our time has been clearly defined in Soviet art in recent years is important.

The "We Are Building Communism" exhibition devoted to the 26th CPSU Congress was a very notable phenomenon in this respect in fine art. A fruitful quest for the typical features of the hero of our time taken from real life and contemporary reality can be traced distinctly in the works represented at it. Themes of the heroic feat of the Soviet people and themes of labor and communist creation, far-reaching in its historical import, were predominant at the exhibition.

Preparing for the 26th CPSU Congress, all detachments of personalities of the arts performed a great deal of fruitful creative work. Its results were reflected in performances and concerts on the stage of theaters and in concert halls of the capital, particularly in the ceremonial concert given in honor of the delegates to the 26th CPSU Congress in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses. In Moscow there was a review of the country's best theaters, which put on the most interesting performances for the congress.

Behind all this is the creative quest of the Soviet artistic intelligentsia and its active turnabout toward a more in-depth portrayal of communist building. This is, of course, on the whole, a complex process. It has both creative successes and certain difficulties, which are manifested differently in different spheres of art.

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*"A Further Improvement in Ideological and Political Education". CPSU Central Committee decree of 26 April 1979, Moscow, 1979, p 15.

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Take, for example, the Soviet theater. Comrade L.I. Brezhnev showed in a striking, evocative form in the CPSU Central Committee Report to the 25th party congress the importance of theatrical art's switch to the "production theme," which acquired a broad social resonance, and also to the theme of the Soviet people's feat in the Great Patriotic War and the theme of moral search. This evaluation served as a powerful stimulus for the appearance of new plays devoted to this set of problems. They include such plays concerning the theme of labor as "Day of Arrival--Day of Departure" by V. Chernykh, "The Thirteenth Chairman" by A. Abdullin, "Feedback" by A. Gel'man and others which may be considered, albeit with certain reservations, creative successes of the dramatists and also the theaters which performed these plays. The Leninist theme enjoyed new resonance in a number of plays. Particular mention should be made of the fact that many of our producers and theaters have addressed themselves to productions based on L.I. Brezhnev's "Malaya zemlya" [The Small Land], "Vozrozhdeniye" [Revival] and "Tselina" [Virgin Land] trilogy.

The country's theaters continued the further assimilation of Russian and world classics in the last 5-year period. Although not carried off without certain difficulties and mistakes at times, this was a fruitful process on the whole.

I would also like to mention such an important particularity of Soviet theatrical art as the considerably increased expertise of many republic and oblast theaters.

At the same time we see clearly that in the main, arterial subject areas the appearance of plays and performances which may with every right be termed notable landmarks in the development of the Soviet theater is nonetheless rare. Why is this? There are several reasons, evidently. But one of them is a lack of dramatic material. It is not, of course, a question of a quantitative shortage of plays. Approximately 600 plays are turned out annually along repertory company lines alone. But far from all plays make the stage, and those which become a part of the life of the theater do not always evoke a feeling of genuine satisfaction.

We also encounter such a phenomenon as the "reiterativeness" of certain plays, that is, the repetition at a lower artistic level of the basic ideas and methods of this successful play or the other created earlier. This was the case with a whole number of plays on the production theme, which was justly criticized. There is still much pettiness of subject and the focusing of attention on problems which are on the sidelines, as it were, of the main areas of communist building and the most acute questions of international life.

Under current conditions there is increased significance in the social demands on both the dramatist and the theater and the dramatist's closer interaction with the theater in work on the most important themes. The creation of truly outstanding works demands even of the gifted dramatist total self-performance, the comprehension of big problems and particular philosophical depth in the interpretation of the phenomena of contemporary social life. The dramatists, producers and theatrical groups as a whole must rise to the accomplishment of such tasks, which is the only way to surmount the shortcomings in the work of

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the theater. After all, it is a fact that there are theaters for whose performances it is very difficult to obtain tickets and also those whose auditoriums are sometimes empty. It all depends on the nature of the activity of the producers, actors and creative groups, on the correctness of repertoire policy and on how skillfully work is performed with the audience.

New problems have also confronted Soviet musical art, although there is no doubt about its general successes.

The years since the 25th party congress have been fruitful in the sphere of musical life. The number of members of the Composers' Union has grown by almost one-fourth. New composer organizations have emerged in a whole number of autonomous republics (Udmurtia, Tuva, Yakutia and Komi). The process of the interaction and mutual enrichment of national and musical cultures has intensified. Composer schools in the union republics have grown stronger.

Significant works of operatic art like for example, O. Taktakishvili's "Kidnap of the Moon," K. Molchanov's "The Dawns Here Are Gentle," R. Shchedrin's "Dead Souls" and Ye. Rakhmadiyev's "Song of the Virgin Land," which have won deserved recognition among Soviet audiences, have been created. There were successful premiers of the following ballet compositions: K. Moldobasanov's "The Maternal Field," K. Molchanov's "Macbeth," T. Khrennikov's "Ballad of the Hussar" and others. No less than 12-15 works of Soviet authors were performed on the stages of each of the country's 78 music theaters in the last 5 years. New opera theaters were opened in Dnepropetrovsk and Krasnoyarsk. Considerable successes were scored in the cantata-oratorio genre and in symphonic music.

A great deal of work is being done to popularize Soviet music. The "Melodiya" firm is endeavoring to record the best words of Soviet composers and performers and is performing persistent work aimed at an improvement in the quality of phonograph recordings. Radio and television are called on to play an important part in the dissemination of the best musical works and the inculcation of good taste. They have stepped up and improved their work in this field considerably in recent years. In the formation of a high musical culture increasingly great significance is attached to the direct communication of the composers, musicologists and performers with the students, constantly expanding philharmonic activity.

Unfortunately, despite all the fruitful work being performed by the philharmonic societies, there are still serious shortcomings in the content and organization of their activity. We are now takingsteps to bring order to bear in this important field. Commercial considerations and a desire to fulfill the financial plan by easy means are sometimes supplanting the main thing--tasks of an ideological-educational order. I believe that the work of the philharmonic societies and concert organizations also merits closer attention on the part of the party committees. After all, music is becoming an increasingly effective factor of education, particularly of the youth.

The growth of the popularity of musical culture is closely connected with the development of the system of the children's and youth's musical-aesthetic

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education. Music festivals for children and the youth are being held increasingly extensively, and children's music and choral ensembles and art studios and schools have become widespread. The system of musical education is being perfected. A children's music theater, which has acquired a fine new building, is actively at work in Moscow. Such theaters are now being created in the union republics also.

Various song festivals and entertainments are of increased significance in the development of the people's musical culture. These festivals have become traditional and are held with huge success in the Baltic republics. The tradition of song festivals is now becoming increasingly widespread in other parts of the country also. The Soviet Music Festival in the fall of 1980 in Uzbekistan enjoyed a big public response. More than 2,500 composers and performers participated.

Our music has moved broadly into the world arena. At the same time its popularization and the increased influence of progressive, democratic traditions in world musical art remain an important task. The international music festival which was held for the first time this May in Moscow should contribute to its accomplishment.

The 26th CPSU Congress set our fine art and architecture fundamental new tasks.

The years that have elapsed since the 25th congress have been characterized by the further cohesion of the thousands-strong collective of Soviet artists and the creation of an atmosphere conductive to creativity.

In accordance with the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, the Ninth USSR Supreme Soviet Fifth Session enacted the law "Protection and Use of Historical and Cultural Monuments". This was the first all-union enactment on the protection of our cultural heritage in the history of Soviet legislation. The law's fundamental provisions were reflected in the USSR Constitution. The Regulations Governing the Proection and Use of Historical and Cultural Monuments were formulated, a single standardized form of the registration of monuments was introduced and appropriations for restoration were increased on the basis of the law. Museum and exhibition collections have been supplemented appreciably. Some 29,827 works of fine art were purchased for more than R7.5 million in the 5 years.

The recent past was marked by a stimulation of exhibition activity. The "Glory to Labor" (1976) and "Lenin's Way" (on the 60th anniversary of the Great October, 1977) exhibitions, the exhibition devoted to the 110th anniversary of V.I. Lenin's birth, the "Sport--Ambassador of Peace" exhibition, which was timed to coincide with the opening of the Moscow Olympics, and others were important events in the country's ideological and cultural life. The third international "Satire in the Struggle for Peace" exhibition , which was visited by L.I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and CPSU Central Committee Politburo members, was a big success. The "We Are Building Communism" exhibition, which opened at the time of the 26th party congress, sums up, as it were, this rich and diverse activity.

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Monumental art was further developed, and implementation of Lenin's plan of monumental propaganda continues. New works of sculpture have perpetuated the memory of heroes of the civil and Great Patriotic wars, heroes of labor and outstanding political figures, scientists and cultural personalities. The unveiling of a bust of L.I. Brezhnev in Dneprodzerzhinsk developed into a big public holiday. Our sculptors have participated in the creation of monuments in many foreign countries.

Monumental painting has been further developed. The number of installations adorned with stained-glass windows, mosaics and paintings has increased. But a shortage of skilled personnel locally, by virtue of which certain works are executed on a low ideological-artisitic level, is sometimes reflected. This demands increased artistic supervision and the increased responsibility of the monumental artists for their work.

Considerable successes have been achieved by our best masters of book illustration and easel drawing. A great deal of work has been done to fulfill the CPSU Central Committee decree "Folk Handicrafts".

The creation in the USSR Academy of Arts of an architecture and monumental art department was a notable event. This is exerting a considerable positive influence on the solution of such an important problem as the synthesis of the plastic arts and architecture.

The 26th CPSU Congress set fine art and architecture responsible tasks. The task of the formation of an aesthetic environment surrounding Soviet man which influences his perception of the world and his artistic tastes and culture of work and social life was advanced as a priority. Comrade L.I. Brezhnev dwelt on this problem particularly in the CPSU Central Committee Report to the 26th party congress. "We do not have to explain," he said, "how important it is that everything around us bear an imprint of beauty and good taste. The Olympic facilities and certain residential neighborhoods of Moscow, the revitalized pearls of the past and new architectural ensembles of Leningrad and the new buildings of Alma-Ata, Vilnius, Navoi and other cities--these are our pride. Nonetheless, city planning as a whole is in need of greater artistic expressiveness and variety. Lest it turn out like the story of the hero of the motion picture who, by an irony of fate, ending up in another city, was unable to distinguish there neither a house nor an apartment from his own."*

The formation of man's vital aesthetic environment is a big long-term comprehensive task. For its accomplishment it is necessary to create the most favorable conditions for the joint creative work of masters of monumental sculpture, painting, decorative-applied art and design, architects and art historians. Coordination of the activity of the architects and masters of monumental and decorative art with state and public organizations needs to be improved. All this was the subject of interested discussion at a session of

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," pp 63-63.

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the USSR Academy of Arts which discussed tasks of cultural building in the light of the decisions of the 26th party congress.

The best achievements of city planning in Moscow, Leningrad, Minsk, Kiev, Alma-Ata, Tashkent, Vilnius and other cities require more attentive study and propaganda. It is necessary to extend to the utmost the practice of the creation of works of art directly to the order of the labor collectives and the artists' sponsorship of industrial enterprises and kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Valuable experience has already been accumulated here. The work of the artists of Moscow and Tyumen' in Tyumenskaya Oblast, on the basis of which the "Tyumen' Land" exhibition was organized, may serve as an example. Approximately 500 works from this exhibition were handed over to clients.

The correct solution of such questions at the same time contributes to the achievement of the main goal--formation of the aesthetic environment. I believe that in this respect there are many possibilities and resources locally which need to be commissioned. We must make man's vital environment high in moral content and emotionally full and, if it may be so put, "soundtracked" by the resources of art. For this reason the task of a further rise in the ideological and artistic level of fine art should be at the center of attention. It is more necessary now than ever to pay particular attention to the qualitative aspect of matters and the creation of major, outstanding works portraying the Soviet people's heroic struggle for communism.

Questions of the effective and skillful propaganda of the best works of Soviet art are being raised to a new level. We will approach the furnishing of the new USSR State Picture Gallery and its permanent exhibits most attentively from this viewpoint. The gallery will be a key center of the propaganda of Soviet fine art.

Bourgeois art history remains silent about the achievements of our art. And this is not simply an ignorance of the true state of affairs but a conscious position. After all, it is a fact that everything which emerges in the "back yard" of our art and all departures from the principles of socialist realism are literally snatched up "on the wing" in the West. Extensively publicized exhibitions are organized here for such, if you will, works, and books and albums are published purporting to show the "face" of Soviet art. The ideological target of all this propaganda fuss is obvious and needs no special comment.

The further increase in the educative, ideological role of Soviet art is closely connected with two basic prerequisites.

First, the broad masses' interest in culture and thirst for it and the inner aspiration to familiarization with the achievements of art and literature. We may say that our people have such an aspiration. This is expressed in the youth's fascination with contemporary music, poetry and literature, the increased role of the theater, the increased popularity of artistic exhibitions and much else. For example, in the last 5 years the number of theatergoers increased by 3.5 million and annual museum attendance constituted 140 million people, which was 1.5 times more than in 1970. The amateur arts,

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in which approximately 30 million people participate, are enjoying increasingly mass development. We should take account here of the extensive spread of television and household forms of the assimilation of culture which, as it were, "bind" people to their homes and their apartments.

Second, the correct thrust of the work of all cultural establishments and personalities of the arts' understanding of their contemporary social role and their increased responsibility and, at the same time, an ability to accomplish the new tasks in practice are essential.

The problem of the ideological-political maturity and methodological armament of the artist, dramatist and composer is becoming increasingly important. This is inseparably connected with the general cultural growth of the Soviet audience, listener and reader. It is far from fortuitous that in many discussions on questions of art it is a question of the philosophical grasp of reality in works of art. Only via such an in-depth, philosophical comprehension is it possible to get to the mind and heart of the reader, viewer and listener, convince him and inculcate in him a correct attitude toward life's phenomena.

The deepening of the world-outlook content of art is a characteristic phenomenon of the 20th century. The specifics of the 20th century, if it is viewed through the prism of the development of man's artistic culture, are that art and philosophy have begun to interact with one another increasingly profoundly and organically. There is a natural increase here in the impact of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook on the process of artistic creativity. While in no way denying and not belittling the significance of an artist's talent and his creative intuition we at the same time cannot fail to see that without profound methodological and world-outlook preparation an artist's talent could acquire a wrong, false thrust.

The characteristic trends of the development of bourgeois culture and art at the end of the 10th and in the 20th centuries and the symptoms of its [sic] decline and crisis have profound ideological sources. It is no secret that many directions of modernist fine art, for example, began with the publication of a variety of manifestoes which proclaimed certain methodological and philosophical principles and were accompanied by theoretical quest and references to the discoveries of science, technical progress and the latest philosophical ideas. Cubism, expressionism, futurism, abstractionism, surrealism, pop art, hyperrealism and so forth are proving to be the realization, as it were, of a variety of idealistic, subjectivist philosophical programs. They are becoming a component of the most complex and acute ideological struggle, entering into the fabric of the spiritual life of contemporary society, influencing the formation of man's attitude toward life and even pretending sometimes to the transformation of the modern world. The myth of the artist's "neutralism" and his apoliticism and imaginary lack of party-mindedness can hardly today be trusted by a person familiar with the characteristic singularities of the development of contemporary artistic culture.

It is essential to inculcate a correct understanding of the party spirit of art in our creative intelligentsia, particularly the creative youth.

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The prospects of the development of all Soviet art depend on work with the creative youth. As is known, the CPSU Central Committee has paid special attention to this question. The CPSU Central Committee decree "Work With the Creative Youth" determined the main directions and forms of the active enlistment of young talent in the building of the culture of developed socialism. The emergence of experimental theatrical studios and understudy stages, the creation of creative workshops, youth festivals, competitive reviews and exhibitions, the organization of sponsorship work and much else predetermined an appreciable stimulation of the creative youth and a strengthening of its positions in art. The youth currently constitutes 40 percent of the theater groups, for example. The USSR Artists' Union and USSR Academy of Arts have held a number of exhibitions of young artists and their graduation theses; pay has improved, associations of young artists and art critics have been created and groups are formed which travel to the virgin land and new construction sites of the country. Closer attention has come to be paid to the youth in art critic studies and creative discussion. All this has had an appreciable influence on an improvement in the moral atmosphere among young artists and their more active familiarization with themes of great ideological-political and social resonance. Much that is positive has been done to stimulate the youth in the sphere of musical art also.

Active work with the creative youth is not a short-term campaign but a permanent task. Far from all problems have yet been solved and matters are not always as they should be when it comes to the youth's job placement and the creation of the conditions necessary for its creative activity.

The youth's ideological-moral formation should be at the center of our ideological work. After all, it bears the responsibility for the directions in which socialist art will develop in the future. It is extremely important that the system of the instruction and training of the creative youth be in unison with the progress of our theoretical thought and that the latest results of studies in the sphere of Marxist-Leninist aesthetics be introduced promptly in the instructional-teaching process.

The entire current situation and the main trends of the ideological struggle testify that the final 20 years of our century will be marked by particularly tense ideological clashes and particularly acute confrontation, in the sphere of culture and art included. It is essential to raise higher and higher the banner of progressive culture and art, raise a creative youth which is conditioned ideologically and methodologically and armed with a profound understanding of the characteristic patterns of the development of society's spiritual life and raise convinced purveyors of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, patriots of their motherland and genuine internationalists.

Much here depends on the level of scientific research in the cultural sphere. Certain progress has been observed in recent years in the development of theoretical problems of culture and art. The work on such fundamental multivolume studies as "Istoriya iskusstva narodov SSSR" [History of the Art of the USSR Peoples] (USSR Academy of Arts' Institute of the Theory and History of Fine Art) and "Muzyka XX veka" [Music of the 20th Century] (Institute of Art) and the work on a summary of monuments is testimony to this. Mention

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should also be made of the extended critical analysis of the main directions of contemporary bourgeois art. Publication of the collective book "Modernizm. Analiz i kritika osnovnykh napravleniy" [Modernism. Analysis and Critique of the Main Directions], which is very convincing in its arguments and accurate in its conclusions, may be considered a manifestation of this.

Of course, the practical significance of such fundamental works cannot be determined according to some immediate result. But they are of great world-outlook significance and have an impact on the shaping of the artist's views and his attitude toward the main ideological issues of the present day. At the same time we are experiencing increasingly the need for popular literature on the main, fundamental problems of modern art. There is not enough of such literature, unfortunately. After all, youth wishes to know and experience everything. Sometimes it is attracted by Western fashion, which is far from always good. Discotheques are spreading rapidly here, new dances and tunes are emerging and so forth. Artistic criticism here is lagging behind the times, unfortunately. It sometimes simply "fails to notice" new phenomena in the sphere of artisitic culture.

It should be mentioned for fairness' sake that the closer connection of theoretical studies in the sphere of culture with practice has been observed in recent years. Positive work in this direction has been performed by the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Art. Problems of culture are attracting the attention of an increasingly extensive list of research workers. The USSR Academy of Sciences and USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences have begun to pay more attention to fundamental theoretical questions of culture and practical questions of the artistic education of the children and the youth. The Commission for the Comprehensive Study of Artistic Creativity is operating under the auspices of the USSR Academy of Sciences' Scientific Council for the History of World Culture. The VUZ's have increased their attention to the development of problems of culture. The system of information in the sphere of culture and art is being streamlined. There is hope that all this will be a good basis for the creation of popular literature on problems of culture.

Leadership of cultural building cannot be exercised now without fundamental theoretical studies. In order to plan the building of culture correctly it is essential to know the main regularities of its development, conceive of the prospects of the development of society's spiritual requirements and have scientifically substantiated forecasts and norms. Research in the cultural sphere should be combined increasingly closely with social studies, an analysis of the singularities of the development of the regions and the dynamics of free time and with an analysis of the mentality of artistic creativity and perception and the national, professional and age singularities of the formation of the personality's cultural requirements. Without this it is now difficult to conceive of a further improvement in the practice of cultural building and management of the entire cultural sphere.

For this reason it is essential to strive for the increased effectiveness of scientific research and the concentration of scientists' attention on the most significant problems of cultural building and the development of art. In

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this respect the critical remarks expressed by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress to the social sciences also apply to research in the sphere of culture and art.

III

Under current conditions there is an appreciable increase in the role of the cultural sphere as an important factor of the formation of the Soviet way of life and satisfaction of Soviet man's increasingly diverse spiritual requirements and his harmonious development. It is not fortuitous that the Communist Party's formulation of this new task of cultural building or the other encounters a broad response in the masses, whether it be a question of the protection and use of historical and cultural monuments, the development of the amateur arts or some urgent problem of professional art or the other.

This was also the case in the period of preparations for the 26th party congress. In the course of discussion of the CPSU Central Committee draft "Main Directions of the USSR's Economic and Social Policy in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990" our country's working people and personalities of literature and art put forward many valuable ideas and proposals and displayed great interest in the correct solution of key problems of socialist culture.

We are now confronted with the task of the more active turnabout of the work of the entire cultural sphere toward the life of the labor collectives and different social groups of the population with regard for their interests and requirements. This means that cultural-educational work cannot be confined to a framework of the corresponding establishments. The tasks of the cultural-educational workers are broader: they must visit the enterprises, study people's requirements, develop increasingly active work at the place of residence and places of recreation, enlist the scientific-technical intelligentsia and the best-trained working people, particularly the young people, in their activity and mold their own activists.

The experience of conducting large-scale political campaigns such as discussion of the draft of the USSR Constitution, elections to the organs of state power and the propaganda measures connected with the preparation of party congresses shows that cultural-mass work, if it is well organized, has considerable ideological potential.

As is known, the residents of our capital participate actively in the movement to make Moscow a model communist city. Such movements are becoming increasingly widespread in other cities also. Culture and art occupy an important place in them.

Thus various public holidays like harvest festivals, for example, and other mass measures of a considerable educational impact are becoming increasingly widespread in practice.

The work of the cultural sphere is becoming an increasingly organic part of partywide educational activity. Assistance from the party committees in this important work is enabling us to achieve significant results.

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In the accomplishment of the crucial task of the fuller satisfaction of Soviet people's diverse spiritual requirements and in communist education importance is attached to a further improvement in the activity of the cultural-educational establishments and the increased role of the clubs, mass libraries, museums and parks.

The process of the direct combination of art and labor is developing on an increasingly broad scale. Direct contacts of personalities of Soviet art with the labor collectives, joint discussions of new works and regular meetings of masters of the arts with the working people are assuming an increasingly efficient, concrete character. The alliance of art and labor is not only a slogan but the actual practice of our life.

Culture and art are becoming an increasingly organic part of Soviet people's life and social existence, influencing with their specific resources the formation of civic sentiments, and becoming an integral part of the Soviet way of life. The country now has more than 600 theaters, 138,000 clubs, more than 1,500 museums (including branches), 132,000 mass libraries, approximately 1,100 national parks of culture and rest and more than 150,000 movie projectors. Approximately 5,000 clubs and more than 6,000 mass libraries were commissioned, 144 museums and 36 new theaters were created and many new music groups appeared in the 10th Five-Year Plan alone. This is enabling us to actively bring culture and art to the broadest working people's masses.

The approach to the building of cultural establishments is changing. Many of them adorn our cities and villages, have original architecture and have been installed with regard for the requirements not only of present but also future generations. They will serve people for a long time and will be a memorial of our times, just as the best architectural installations of the past serve us today.

Higher criteria have come to be advanced with respect to the quality of cultural services for the working people. The cultural center or club of a large-scale industrial enterprise, the rayon cultural center in the countryside, the library and the museum should have modern equipment and, what is most important, should organize their work more profoundly and comprehensively in terms of content, in keeping with Soviet people's increased social and spiritual requirements.

However, far from everywhere is there a correct understanding of the role of culture and cultural building in the life of contemporary Soviet society and Soviet man. The most farsighted managers, kolkhoz chairmen and rayon leaders have long been aware that culture is an important lever of socioeconomic development. In the course of discussion of topical problems of cultural building in Donetskaya Oblast's Volnovakhskiy Rayon, in Sverdlovskaya and Dnepropetrovskaya oblasts and in the cities of Gor'kiy, Kaluga and elsewhere at a board meeting in the USSR Ministry of Culture leaders of oblasts and rayons and enterprises, kolkhoz chairmen and cultural workers emphasized that economic successes now largely depend on the extent to which man's cultural requirements are satisfied.

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Contemporary man experiences a need not only for material sufficiency but also the appropriate social and cultural-everyday conditions. This is particularly characteristic of the youth and highly skilled specialists. At the same time, unfortunately, we frequently encounter the phenomenon of people adopting a negligent attitude toward the building of planned social-everyday and cultural facilities, disrupting the specified times of their commissioning. Such an approach was emphatically condemned at the 26th party congress. Comrade L.I. Brezhnev raised the question of the need for tight supervision of the fact that the resources for the social development of enterprises, cities and villages be used precisely as intended, in full and within the specified times. "The reports from the localities," he said, "on the introduction of new industrial facilities usually do not indicate what has been done for those who will work here and how much in the way of housing, kindergarten, libraries and dispensaries has been built. Let us make it a condition to consider such reports valid only if the program of housing and cultural-social construction at the project provided for by the plan has also been fulfilled."*

Social dynamics and the growth of Soviet people's education require constant attention to their spiritual requirements and the determination of a precise strategy of cultural building. The initiative of the working people of Krasnoyarskiy Kray, who have adopted counterpledges with respect to the development of the sociocultural complex in the 11th Five-Year Plan, merits active support and dissemination in this respect. These pledges were published on 20 March 1981 in the newspaper SOVETSKAYA KUL'TURA.

Under present-day conditions there has been a considerable increase in the role of cultural services for the country's new construction sites and regions of active development. Comrade L.I. Brezhnev paid particular attention to this aspect. Such all-union tasks as the accelerated development of the areas of Siberia and the Far East and the North and the upsurge of the RSFSR's nonchernozem zone are directly and immediately related to cultural building, requiring the further stimulation of cultural services for the biggest construction projects and the creation of real prerequisites for the accelerated development of professional art and the folk arts in these areas. Huge construction projects like the Baykal-Amur Main Railroad require the enlistment of personnel and the youth from central, inhabited areas. People go to the construction sites enthusiastically, understanding that they are doing work of exceptional significance for the life of the whole country. For this reason skillfully organized cultural services for the new construction sites are not only of a purely cultural but also social, ideological-political significance. They are evidence of the country's attention to the people who sometimes work under the most difficult conditions and lend them tremendous moral support.

Pretty good experience of cultural services for Siberia and the Far East was accumulated in the 10th Five-Year Plan. Various forms of cultural patronage and guest performances by the country's best theaters and music groups considerably enriched the cultural life of this promising region. Soviet literature and music festivals in Tyumen' are now traditional, and arts festivals

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 58.

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for the oilmen of the Ob' region and the construction workers of the Baykal-Amur Main Railroad are held regularly. The "Lights of the Main Line" arts festivals have become traditional in Buryatia, Amurskaya and Chitinskaya oblasts and in Khabarovskiy Kray. Brigades of masters of fine art travel to these parts with their creative reports, and artistic exhibitions head for here. The biggest industrial and cultural centers of the eastern regions of the country have become the venue for traveling sessions of creative union board secretariats. This is probably the first time that we have achieved such a scale and level of cultural service of an entire region. This experience requires that particular attention be paid to it in the light of the tasks of the equalization of social differences territorially and the surmounting of the lagging of certain regions in the sphere of people's cultural-everyday conditions.

On 6 April 1981 the USSR Ministry of Culture Board discussed the question "Measures for the Development of Culture and Art in Regions of Siberia and the Far East in 1981-1985". A program of comprehensive measures was drawn up for the further development of the material base of the culture of these parts and an improvement in guest appearance activity and sponsorship. It is intended in the 11th Five-Year Plan here to build 571 club establishments, 307 libraries, 7 theaters and 6 museums, create 7 large-scale music groups and new parks and open 4 new higher and 3 secondary specialized educational institutions. The scheduled plan also includes large-scale measures along USSR State Committee for Cinematography, USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, USSR Committee for Sport, USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and Book Trade, AUCCTU, "Znaniye" Society and creative union lines. I believe that the realization of this plan will be an important step forward in the further development of the culture of Siberia and the Far East.

Turning Siberia into an area of high culture is an important social task. And we will assist its accomplishment in every possible way.

As is known, the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government are paying great attention to the development of the housing and cultural-social construction of the RSFSR's nonchernozem zone. Some R5.6 billion were channeled to this end in the 10th Five-Year Plan or 1.9 times more than in 1971-1975. In accordance with the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "The Further Development and Increased Efficiency of the Agriculture of the RSFSR's Nonchernozem Zone in 1981-1985," R9.9 billion will be channeled to this end in the 11th Five-Year Plan. It is important to use these big resources correctly and as efficiently as possible, having drawn up a well-considered long-term program of cultural building.

It is now particularly important to have a clear idea of the areas in which it is necessary to improve cultural-mass work. Take libraries, for example. With their specific resources libraries can do much. Skillful propaganda of the decisions of party congresses, CPSU Central Committee and Soviet Government decrees and sociopolitical literature in close unity with the life of the labor collectives and their achievements and unsolved problems and assistance to the development of the creative initiaitve of the masses--all these should be the permanent functions of libraries and other cultural-educational establishments.

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It is essential to make use of culture's material base with the maximum results, irrespective of the department to which it belongs. Certain positive results have been achieved in this area in recent years. The library system has been centralized, which has increased the efficiency of service of the population considerably and made accessible book collections and the spiritual riches contained therein, to which access was complicated for many readers earlier. Highly promising prospects are being revealed by the process of the formation of cultural complexes and centralized club systems, particularly in the countryside. Comparatively small farms do not have the opportunities for attracting highly skilled specialists and creating a cultural base for satisfying the rural workers' increased spiritual requirements. As experience shows, unification of specialists' forces and resources makes it possible to raise cultural services to a qualitatively new level, create music schools, folk theaters, choirs, studios and various special-interest associations in the countryside also and raise the level of ideological-political work.

Some 3,900 centralized library systems, approximately 10,000 centralized club systems and over 2,000 cultural complexes were created in the 10th Five-Year Plan. It is essential to continue active support for the process of the creation of cultural complexes, which produce not only spiritual but also considerable social results. Without retention of the youth in the countryside and the enlistment of highly skilled specialists it is impossible to conceive of the successful development of modern agricultural production and realization of the party's agrarian policy.

It is fitting to mention here that more concern needs to be displayed for skilled young cultural worker personnel in the localities. Unfortunately, the USSR Ministry of Culture frequently receives warnings that due attention is not being paid to the housing and social conditions of the specialists arriving for work. Yet without this it is difficult to expect that they will be retained locally or work with total input. Who suffers because of this? The cause, primarily. After all, those who lack education and elementary knowledge in the sphere of culture and art often work where there is a shortage of specialists. This alienates people from the cultural establishments. And where there are no people, there is no work.

The new tasks confronting the cultural sphere under current conditions require a constant improvement in planning and management and consideration of the socioeconomic trends of the country's development, the particular features of different regions and national and demographic specifics. Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's report noted the high mobility of the population in a number of republics and the considerable increase in the numbers of citizens of non-indigenous nationality with their own specific requirements in the sphere of language, culture and everyday life. As the 26th party congress emphasized, all these problems must be tackled in the spirit of socialist internationalism and Soviet patriotism and an understanding of everyone's membership of the single great Soviet motherland.

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The specific tasks confronting the cultural sphere in this connection should be tackled in accordance with the principles of Lenin's international cultural policy, which has already borne truly splendid fruit.

The fruitful results of the international thrust of the party's Leninist cultural policy were manifested particularly strikingly under the immediate impact of the decisions of the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses, the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the Great October and the adoption of the new USSR Constitution. The material base of culture in the republics was reinforced considerably and fine, musical and theatrical art were further developed in the 10th Five-Year Plan. As L.I. Brezhnev observed in the CPSU Central Committee Report to the 26th party congress, "the flowering and mutual enrichment of the national cultures and the formation of the culture of the single Soviet people--a new social and international community--are under way. This process is proceeding here as it should proceed under socialism: on the basis of equality, fraternal cooperation and absence of compulsion."*

The Soviet multinational culture is the practical, effective embodiment of internationalism, the CPSU's Leninist policy and the socialist way of life. At the time of the performance of the Olympics-80 cultural program the foreign onlooker was presented in reality and graphically with the beautiful garland of the multinational Soviet culture with the mass performances, national dances and typical musical rhythms and at the same time with its spiritual unity and exemplary expression of the friendship of the USSR peoples. We may now in full measure say that the very fact of the existence of socialist art and its tremendous force of ideological and artistic attraction and the graphic example of the fruitful creative interaction of the fraternal national cultures of the USSR peoples serve as a beacon and point the way to genuine international cultural cooperation. The entire historical experience of the development of Soviet art proves graphically that it is socialism and the consistent implementation of the principles of internationalism which provide for the flowering of the national cultures, their rapprochement and mutual enrichement and the intensification of their ideological unity.

The Soviet creative intelligentsia is the most populous detachment of progressive socialist art. In asserting the ideas of reason, humanism and man's freedom from the oppression of reaction and the ideas of democracy, socialism and peace Soviet art is contributing to the strengthening of a healthy international atmosphere and lending moral support to all present-day progressive forces opposed to imperialist reaction.

International cultural exchanges are intended to promote an improvement in mutual understanding between peoples and a strengthening of trust, detente and peace. This role of culture does not diminish but, on the contrary, increases in the current, exacerbated, international situation.

Of course, the sphere of cultural exchange is a sphere of the ideological struggle which is frequently realized not in the direct forms of open clashes

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 57.

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and a confrontation of ideas, as occurs in the press and radio propaganda, but in the more complex and subtle forms of winning the sympathies of the broad masses or readers, viewers and listeners. It is essentially a highly subtle form of propaganda of a certain way of life and a certain attitude toward reality.

The appearance of Soviet art in the broad international arena has made it possible to dispel and smash many prejudices which had been implanted for a long time in the capitalist countries by anticommunist, anti-Soviet propaganda. It was not fortuitous that when the U.S. Administration adopted a policy of reviving the "cold war," it made particular efforts to undermine cultural exchanges with our country, blocked a new agreement on cultural cooperation and organized a whole series of provocations against Soviet artistes. Reactionary circles are beginning to appreciate the force of Soviet art's spiritual impact and are attempting to neutralize it in every possible way. Thanks to the increased liking for our culture and Soviet art in foreign countries, we have already achieved much in the sphere of propaganda of the socialist way of life. The logic here is simple: a people which has such a high art, which is imbued with the ideas of humanism and peace, are a truly free people which live a full-fledged spiritual life, possess a high culture and have shaped the new man.

Subsequently a leading place in cultural cooperation will be occupied, as before, by cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries. Cultural exchanges with these countries have become highly effective. We also intend to stimulate our activity considerably in the sphere of cultural cooperation with the developing countries, with regard for the singularities of individual countries and regions.

In cultural exchanges with the capitalist countries the main thing for us was and remains contributing to the detente process and mutual understanding between peoples, political isolation of the "cold war" forces and the winning of progressive, democratic forces to our side.

The Soviet people have perceived the historic decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress with tremendous enthusiasm. Their discussion in the labor collectives is developing everywhere into a moving demonstration of the indestructible unity of party and people. Soviet people are adopting upgraded pledges, and socialist competition is becoming increasingly widespread. The magnificence and clarity of the goals advanced in Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's report are engendering the creative enthusiasm of the masses and optimism and confidence that the party's plans will unfailingly be put into practice and concrete deeds.

The Soviet creative intelligentsia and all cultural workers unanimously approve of the historic decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress. Rallied around the Lenin Party and its Central Committee headed by that outstanding Marxist-Leninist and relentless fighter for peace and the peoples' security, Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, they will not spare their forces for the realization of these decisions.

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* I.V. Kapitonov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee: "Questions of Party Building in the Light of the Decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress"

The 26th CPSU Congress will go down in the annals of the struggle for communism as an event of truly world significance. It signified a historic landmark in the life of the party and the people and determined the CPSU's strategy and tactics for the next stage of communist building. The congress revealed exceptionally clearly our party's mighty vital forces and its monolithic inner unity, indissoluble ties to the people and high international authority. The results of the congress' work indicate better than anything else that the party embodies the collective wisdom and creative genius of the Soviet people. It is invariably faithful to its program requirement--all in the name of man, for the good of man.

The tremendous historic significance and magnetic force of the congress' ideas were predetermined by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's report. This outstanding Marxist-Leninist document makes a major contribution to the theory and practice of scientific communism and is a model of a creative analysis of the current stage of the USSR's development, the entire world situation and the problems of the further progress of the society of mature socialism. It targets communists and our entire people toward the accomplishment of two interconnected tasks--communist creation and the consolidation of peace.

The results of the 26th CPSU Congress were unanimously approved by the entire party and the entire people. This was distinctly shown by the meetings of party activists which were held everywhere and the discussion of the congress' decisions in the primary party organizations, labor collectives, soviets of people's deputies and trade union and Komsomol authorities. Soviet people perceive the plans outlined by the party as their own concern and are fully resolved to implement them. The working people's boundless support for the party's domestic and foreign policy and the activity of the Central Committee and its Politburo headed by that outstanding continuer of the great Leninist cause, Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, was displayed with new force at this time.

We all know how great Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's role is in the development and implementation of the party's general policy and the plans of communist building. He is investing his entire organizing and political talent, inexhaustible energy and indomitable will in the cause of the building of communism and the struggle for peace in this world. His relentless fruitful activity for the good of our people and all mankind evoke in people profound gratitude and sincere feelings of love and thankfulness. The tremendous authority and influence of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev is our party's great property. It is also an important factor of its fruitful activity.

Questions of the practical realization of the instructions contained in the CPSU Central Committee Report and the directives of the congress are currently at the center of the attention of our entire party. "The congress armed the party and all components of our political system with a clear and precise program," Comrade L.I. Brezhnev said, addressing a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. "The main thing now is to suffuse this program with real deeds and organize, as Lenin taught, the firm and amicable joint work of millions of people."*

*PRAVDA 2 April 1981.

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The growing sweep of socialist competition for the successful fulfillment of the tasks of the first year of the 11th Five-Year Plan, the working people's numerous patriotic initiatives and the shock creative work of millions of people are precisely such practical deeds. It may be said that public initiative itself has made work on fulfillment of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress the cornerstone. The party organizations are called on to head this work and direct the energy of the masses into the necessary channel. Concrete plans of organizational-political measures which essentially encompass the entire activity of the party organizations have been formulated in the raykoms and gorkoms, obkoms and kraykoms and union republic Communist Party central committees. These plans are examined and passed at party committee plenums in many places.

Study and propaganda of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's report, the Main Directions of the USSR's Economic and Social Development in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990 and other documents and material of the congress are a priority task. This work demands an in-depth comprehension of the ideological wealth of the propositions put forward at the congress. They contain the key to an understanding of the current situation and the prospects of the ongoing movement of our society. They are a very rich source of political experience. An important place among them is occupied by the propositions characterizing the party's development at the current stage and its role as vanguard of the Soviet people and leading and directing force of our society. The conclusions and directives of the 26th CPSU Congress on questions of party building enrich Marxist-Leninist teaching on the party, increase the communists' theoretical armament and lend their practical activity a precise orientation.

I

A basic, fundamentally important question of revolutionary teaching--that of the Communist Party's leading role in the socialist society and the ways and methods in which it is exercised--was further developed at the 26th CPSU Congress. Particular significance is attached to it in our time, and it is increasingly becoming the key point of the theoretical and, frequently, acute political struggle of Marxist-Leninists against the overt and covert enemies of socialism in the world arena.

Summing up the path that has been trodden, the 26th CPSU Congress confirmed the conclusion drawn earlier that the party's role in the life of the Soviet society increases constantly in the period of developed socialism. This conclusion, which reflects a most important regularity of the historical process, has become a firm part of our party's ideological-theoretical arsenal. It has become a fundamental conclusion in the conception of developed socialism which has been developed in recent years.

As is known, the role of the party increases with the increased scale and complexity of the tasks of communist buildng. The country's present-day socioeconomic development corroborates this as evidently as can be. Concrete data were adduced at the congress showing what tremendous wealth we now possess. It is sufficient to say that by the start of the 1980's the country's gross social product was in excess of R1 trillion and that national income used for consumption and accumulation had reached R437 billion. The entire system of social relations and the socialist way of life have been perfected

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on the basis of a steady upsurge in the economy. The gigantic economic, scientific-technical and spiritual potential has been created by the selfless labor of the Soviet people headed by the Communist Party. The CPSU is proving in practice its capacity for being the collective leader and political organizer and educator of the working class and all working people.

As Comrade L.I. Brezhnev emphasized at the congress, the core of the entire activity of the party and the state is leadership of the economy. Proceeding from the requirements of socialist development, the 26th party congress put forward new tasks of tremendous volume and complexity which include acceleration of the intensification of social production, a further increase in its efficiency, an improvement in the quality of work and the more rational use of available resources for the purpose of the constant growth of Soviet people's well-being. For their accomplishment it is necessary to enlist even more extensively the multimillion-strong people's masses in conscious and active historic creativity, which, in turn, requires great attention to the problems arising in the sphere of the Soviet society's sociopolitical and spiritual development and the formation of the new man. These problems also occupied an important place in the CPSU Central Committee Report to the 26th party congress. The congress thereby reflected the close unity of economic, sociopolitical and ideological factors of communist building.

Such is the chain of interconnected prerequisites bringing about a further increase in the responsibility of the CPSU and its role at the current stage. This gives rise to the need for a constant rise in the standard of party leadership, without which the economic and sociopolitical system of developed socialism cannot function efficiently. The 26th party congress revealed the singularities and forms and methods of the leadership of society with reference to the new tasks of communist building and determined the role and place of each component of our social organism in their accomplishment. Tremendous significance is attached to the fundamental instructions formulated in Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's report targeting the party toward the fuller use of the economy's intrinsic possibilities. Among these are the conclusion that the economy must be economical, propositions on the need for the mobilization of the creative potential of our society, the struggle against sluggishness in economic thinking and practice, a refinement in management methods and the entire style of management activity and others.

Foreign policy tasks also demand a rise in the level of the party's leading activity. They also, as the congress showed, are becoming increasingly complex and critical. Huge efforts and high foreign policy assertiveness are needed here. Our party is constantly developing its political farsightedness and its capacity for grasping faultlessly all the complexities of world politics and is confidently leading the ship of state through a policy of peace and international detente.

Thus when we speak of the increased role of the CPSU, we must keep in mind an entire complex of internal and external conditions. And this very process is not spontaneous and not automatic. It depends on what policy the party is pursuing and how closely it is connected with the people's masses. "We know full well from past and present experience," Comrade L.I. Brezhnev said at the 26th party congress, "that the role of leading force of society does

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not come about of its own accord. This role is earned and won in the course of constant, incessant struggle for the working people's interests. And this role is consolidated by the fact that the party is constantly extending its relations with the people's masses and living their needs and concerns."*

This is how our Lenin Party operates. The CPSU is inseparable from the people and sees service of them as the highest purpose of its activity. The party treasures the trust of the masses, aspires to closeness with them and is raising their political consciousness and developing creative energy in every possible way. It listens attentively to the voice of the masses, sensitively catches their mood and knows what disturbs and concerns people. The party correctly expresses the working people's fundamental vital interests, serves the people loyally and pursues a principled class policy always and in all things.

It may be said that the process of the growth of the party's leading role is simultaneously a process of its ever greater rapprochement and cohesion with the people and the growth of its authority and influence among the working people. This was demonstrated by the 26th CPSU Congress, which was in all respects the highest expression of the party's leading role and its indestructible unity with the people.

Great significance for the strengthening of the CPSU's leading role is attached to the state of the party's own forces and the entire organization and atmosphere of its internal life. The party is given strength by its permanent fidelity to Leninist standards and principles, which serve as the dependable foundation of party building.

II

Our party grew, strengthened and matured even more in the last 5-year period. As Comrade L.I. Brezhnev declared, the 26th CPSU Congress showed once again that the CPSU is a powerful, healthy and mature collective. The communists are the truly unbending pivot of our society and its living soul and the genuinely revolutionary vanguard of the people.

The party's composition has been formed in recent years fully in accordance with the regularities of social development at the stage of mature socialism. To highlight the main trend, it may be said, in F. Engels' evocative expression, that the party is becoming embedded increasingly deeply in the people. The CPSU is growing and developing as the party of the working class and the entire Soviet people. It has stronger roots than ever in all classes and social strata of our society.

Our party now has 17.5 million communists. This means that approximately every 11th USSR citizen is in the CPSU. Workers constitute 43.4 percent of communists, kolkhoz members 12.8 percent and representatives of the technical, scientific and creative intelligentsia, education, health service, cultural

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," pp 218-219.

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and management machinery workers and servicemen 43.8 percent. These data show that the directives of the 23d and subsequent CPSU congresses concerning the formation of a social composition of the party conforming to its class nature and all-people character are being fulfilled successfully, on the whole.

People are admitted to the ranks of the CPSU in accordance with these directives. It is particularly important to note that the proportion of workers in the new party intake increases from year to year. Workers constituted 59.4 percent of those entering the party in 1980. In the period between the 22d and 23d congresses they constituted 44.7 percent of those accepted as party candidates. These facts attest the high consciousness and political assertiveness of the working class and its devotion to the ideals of communism. They reflect the consistency with which the party is pursuing the policy aimed at ensuring that workers occupy the leading position in its social composition. We will continue to adhere strictly to this policy.

The replenishment of the party ranks with progressive kolkhoz members corresponds to the interests of the strengthening of the alliance of the working class and kolkhoz peasantry and the successful implementation of the party's agrarian policy. They constituted 10 percent of the new intake in the last 5 years. This was somewhat lower than previously, the reason for which was the decline in the number of workers employed in kolkhoz production. Nonetheless, the overall number of communist kolkhoz members continues to increase. There are now more than 2.2 million kolkhoz members in the CPSU as a whole.

The influx into the party of representatives of the Soviet intelligentsia continued in the last 5-year period. They constituted 25.4 percent of those accepted as CPSU candidates. The overwhelming majority of these were engineering-technical personnel and other specialists connected with production and science. The party attaches great significance to the enlistment in its ranks of brain workers, primarily national economy specialists, taking account of the important part played by the intelligentsia in the acceleration of scientific-technical progress, the development of culture, the communist education of the masses and in the entire life of society.

One out of every four or five engineers, technicians, agronomists, animal specialists and teachers and one out of every six doctors is a communist. It should also be mentioned that having shown their worth in social work and in production and having acquired an education and experience, many workers and kolkhoz members reinforce the ranks of specialists and are promoted to executive work. This is a natural process and is taken into account in regulating admission to the party.

Progressive representatives of Soviet youth--Komsomol members--constitute almost three-fourths of the new party intake, which serves as a striking expression of our youth's high moral fiber and its readiness to devote itself to the cause of communism. This is very important. As Comrade L.I. Brezhnev said, young people who are aged 18-25 today will tomorrow form the backbone of our society. They will also tomorrow form the backbone of our party.

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In admitting Komsomol members to the party the party organizations at the same time pay attention to the selection for their ranks of older people who have graduated from a good school of production and life.

There has been a marked increase in the admittance of women to the party in recent years. Their proportion of those accepted as CPSU candidates rose to 33.5 percent in 1980. Women now constitute more than one-fourth of all communists and from 36 to 45 percent in the Latvian and Estonian republic and Vladimirskaya, Ivanovskaya, Kalininskaya and certain other oblast party organizations. Our party will continue to give this important matter the most serious attention.

The composition of the CPSU strikingly reflects the Leninist policy of the internationalism, fraternity and friendship of the peoples. There are representatives of more than 100 nationalities in the party ranks. In the union and autonomous republics and autonomous oblasts and okrugs the party organizations are being reinforced with the best representatives of indigenous nationality. At the same time the party committees are watching to ensure that other nationalities be represented among the communists. It is important to continue to take account of this, considering the trend of the further internationalization of production and social life in our country.

A worthy replenishment is entering the party, as a whole. It may be said that the current correlation of workers, kolkhoz members and the intelligentsia among those being admitted to the CPSU ranks corresponds to the social structure of our society. Also important is the fact that the party is growing, as before, mainly thanks to people working in the material production sphere. Almost one-half of all communists employed in the national economy works in industry, construction, transport and communications and one-fifth in agriculture.

The number of those wishing to join the CPSU is growing. While appreciating this highly our party is at the same time invariably guided in regulating the growth of its ranks by Lenin's well-known proposition concerning the correct correlation of the party, class and the masses and the impermissibility of the blurring of the distinction between the progressive detachment of the working class and the remaining mass of the working people. The main point for it always was and remains concern for an improvement in the qualitative composition and an increase in the fighting efficiency of the party ranks.

The Central Committee and the party committees locally constantly analyze the state of work on strengthening the CPSU ranks and keep as yet unsolved problems in view. Instances of the accelerated growth of the party ranks are being allowed to occur in places. Whereas in the last 5 years the increase in the number of communists in terms of the party as a whole constitutes 2.3 percent a year, this percentage is considerably higher in certain party organizations. We need to continue to strengthen the party stratum in the decisive areas of social production, particularly in heavy industry, capital construction, railroad transport and other important sectors.

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Take, for example, animal husbandry, which is the shock front in the countryside. Some 404,000 communists work here currently. This is over 23,000 more than at the start of the 10th Five-Year Plan. At the same time, however, there has been a decline in recent years in the number of communists in the animal husbandry units on the kolkhozes, despite the increase in the overall number of kolkhoz party organizations. If we take the party stratum among all stockbreeders, it is lower than for agriculture as a whole.

The 26th CPSU Congress directs us toward a further increase in exactingness toward those joining the party. The approach to admittance to its ranks has become more stringent in recent years. A positive role here was performed by the corresponding CPSU Central Committee decree on the work of the Kirghiz party organizations. Better use is being made of the candidate's probationary period for checking out the entrants' political, professional and moral qualities. Not everyone passes this test. Some 91,000 candidates were not accepted as CPSU members in the last 5 years. As mentioned at the congress, this was a more or less normal elimination. At the same time it has to be acknowledged that certain miscalculations and blunders both in the organizational and in the educational work of the party organizations were reflected here.

The high quality and fighting efficiency of the party ranks are ensured not only by their replenishment with the best representatives of the working people but also the daily ideological and moral training of the communists. Every party member must be distinguished by firmness of conviction, high scrupulousness and discipline, moral purity and an aspiration to labor without sparing efforts in the name of the triumph of communism. Raising the communists in such a spirit and molding them as political fighters is the primary duty of the party organizations. They have great opportunities for this. Talks with party members and candidates, their reports on performance of their statutory duties and the young communist schools have given a good account of themselves. It is important to make fuller use of such forms, perform concrete educational work in all party organizations and reach every communist. It is essential to make better use of the system of party training for the ideological conditioning of the communists. Unfortunately, there are communists, particularly among executives, who do not engage in systematic study.

It was mentioned at the 26th CPSU Congress that chance, unworthy people sometimes get into the party. Almost 300,000 persons were expelled from the CPSU in the period under review for behavior incompatible with the title of communist. Concerning this question, Comrade L.I. Brezhnev emphasized as forcefully as could be: "...our attitude toward those who conduct themselves in an unseemly manner and violate the party Rules and the standards of party morality was, is and will be implacable. No leniency for anyone when it is a question of the honor and authority of our party and the purity of its ranks!"*

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 68.

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High exactingness toward party members and candidates ensures the CPSU's monolithic unity and its capacity for heading the Soviet society and confidently leading the Soviet people along the path toward communism.

III

Great attention was paid at the 26th CPSU Congress to the problem of an improvement in the methods of party leadership. This is entirely natural. As Comrade L.I. Brezhnev emphasized, the style and methods of leadership are a question of importance to the entire party and the entire people.

The CPSU's entire historical experience testifies that the significance of the party's leading bodies, primarily party congresses, increases at each stage. The 26th CPSU Congress was a striking example of this. The conclusions and directives set forth in the CPSU Central Committee Report express the collective opinion of the entire party and all conscious and active builders of communism. They are distinguished by an all-around, comprehensive and profoundly scientific character reflecting the experience and urgent tasks of the party and the people.

Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's report convincingly revealed the multifaceted fruitful activity of the CPSU Central Committee. The work of plenums of the party Central Committee and the Politburo and Secretariat is constructed on the granite foundation of Marxism-Leninism, is of a purposeful nature and is distinguished by high organization, the concrete discussion of issues and complete unanimity in their solution. Such a style has evolved in the CPSU Central Committee under the influence of the personal example of L.I. Brezhnev, who consistently implements the Leninist principle of the collective nature of leadership.

Since the first days following the 26th party congress the CPSU Central Committee has been implementing its directives persistently. A number of major national economic and social questions has been examined and resolved. The decree "All-Union Socialist Competition for the Successful Fulfillment and Overfulfillment of the 11th Five-Year Plan Quotas" and decisions affecting the further development and increased efficiency of agriculture, the rational use of fuel-energy resources and metal, an improvement in capital construction and other questions have been adopted, inter alia. Concrete steps have been taken in implementation of the social program outlined by the 26th party congress.

The CPSU Central Committee demands the same businesslike approach of all central and local organizations. The party committees have initiated a great deal of organizing and political work on implementation of the congress' decisions. Many of them have examined specific areas of this work at routine plenums. The discussion of the tasks for an improvement in organizational-party work at a Moscow Gorkom plenum should be mentioned in this connection. This was a businesslike, mobilizing plenum which will undoubtedly perform a big positive role in the activity of the city party organization.

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The CPSU Central Committee regards the party authorities locally as their sure support, interacts with them closely and skillfully directs their work. The network of local party committees has widened since the 25th party congress. It includes 14 union republic Communist Party central committees, 156 kraykoms and obkoms, 10 okruzhkoms and 4,384 gorkoms and raykoms. The fulfillment of party and government directives is organized via this ramified network of party bodies, which affords the CPSU the opportunity to exercise its leading functions at all levels--both on the scale of the country as a whole and on the scale of each republic, kray, oblast, city and rayon. And it is not fortuitous that the activity of the local party authorities is constantly at the center of the attention of the CPSU Central Committee, which since the 25th party congress has examined the reports of 3 union republic Communist Party central committees, 13 kraykoms and obkoms and 3 gorkoms and raykoms on questions of organizational-party and political-educational work alone. The CPSU Central Committee directs the party committees toward a creative approach to the implementation of party policy and the dynamic, comprehensive economic and social development of their regions, with regard for all-state interests.

The creative ventures and initiatives of many party organizations were appraised highly at the 26th CPSU Congress. It should be mentioned that behind every valuable, instructive experience stands an entire system of diverse procedures, forms and methods of party-political impact on the economy and other spheres. They have been perfected in the course of creative quest and the great deal of organizing and ideological-educational activity of the party committees. It is necessary to study and use this positive experience better. I would like to see our ideological workers, publishing houses and mass information media making their contribution to this matter, which is useful for the entire party.

It was reemphasized at the 26th CPSU Congress that energetic and competent party leadership is of decisive significance. "If every party organization," Comrade L.I. Brezhnev observed, "in its own area makes use of all resources and brings due order to bear in all things, the affairs of the whole country will be further advanced. For this reason an increase in the role of the obkoms and raykoms is a crucial, serious and, I would say, permanent task."* The CPSU Central Committee plans in 1981 to examine the work of certain party committees from the viewpoint of the requirements of the 26th party congress. These reports will undoubtedly serve not only an improvement in the work of these party organizations but will enable us to draw conclusions of all-party significance.

The directives of the 26th CPSU Congress on questions of party leadership oblige us to continue to enhance the role of the primary party organizations in the accomplishment of the manifold tasks of communist building. The CPSU now has 414,000 primary party organizations and more than 1 million shop party organizations and party groups. This is a big force. Thanks to their activity, the party's ideas and decisions are deeply penetrating the consciousness of millions of Soviet people and being translated into the language of concrete arts.

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 71.

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The primary party organizations have favorable possibilities for influencing all aspects of the life of the labor collectives. They are endowed with the right of control of the activity of the administration or the work of the staff. The congress demanded the maximum stimulation of all these elements in order that they operate fully and energetically everywhere, make better use of their rights and display scrupulousness and firmly implement the party line in every question of the life of the collective. It is in this component that the main tasks of people's education are tackled. They are tackled the more successfully the more consistently the principle of the unity of organizing, political, economic and ideological work is pursued.

The CPSU Central Committee Report to the 26th party congress paid great attention to the work of the ministry and department party committees. The Central Committee is endeavoring to increase their role in the surmounting of various departmental and bureaucratic barriers which are still encountered in the administrative bodies, hindering the accomplishment of impending tasks. Ministry and department party committees must display more initiative and scrupulousness and stand more resolutely and uncompromisingly on guard of all-state interests. There may be no doubt that the congress' directives will impart new impetus to the entire work of the primary party organizations and raise still higher their leading, vanguard role in the life and affairs of the labor collectives.

The selection, assignment and training of personnel and supervision of the fulfillment of scheduled plans and party and state directives constitute the essence of party leadership. These are not only organizational but also most important political functions of our ruling party. It is well known that V.I. Lenin considered people's selection and the verification of performance the centerpiece of all work and all policy. He saw this as a condition of the party winning authority and trust in the people's masses: "...select the necessary people and verify practical performance, and the people will appreciate this."*

In recent years our party has been enriched with new experience in the sphere of a further improvement in the qualitative composition and assignment of executive personnel and an increase in their qualifications. National economy specialists are being promoted actively to party work. Currently three-fourths of union republic Communist Party central committee and kraykom and obkom secretaries and two-thirds of gorkom and raykom secretaries are industrial and agricultural specialists. This policy contributes to an improvement in party leadership of the economy, and the 26th CPSU Congress approved it completely. At the same time it was noted at the congress that some of the specialists who have joined the party machinery from production lack sufficient political experience and at times introduce administrative-management methods to the party authorities. For this reason the task that has been set is that of increasing the party-political training of these workers of the party machinery and helping them acquire the necessary skills of party work.

*V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 45, p 112.

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It is important to strive to ensure that all those whom we consider a reserve for promotion to executive work graduate from the good school of life and practical activity in the masses and acquire the necessary political conditioning. Much is being done in this country to create a dependable personnel reserve. The work of the higher party schools and educational institutions training personnel for management of the economy has been reorganized. In the last 5-year period the party schools and CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences graduated 32,000 persons. More than 250,000 party, soviet and ideological workers underwent tuition at corresponding courses.

Practice shows that where work with the reserve is performed in a well-considered manner, difficulties in the selection and promotion of personnel usually do not arise. This is the case, for example in the Ukraine's party organizations. Here people whom it is intended to promote to executive work are attentively studied in practical matters, are enlisted in the fulfillment of public assignments and are recommended for election to party, soviet, Komsomol and trade union bodies in good time. All this has made it possible to increase the efficacy of the reserve and sharply reduce the number of instances of cooptation to gorkom and raykom secretary positions. Such experience could profitably be adopted by other party organizations also.

A good executive personnel composition has now taken shape in the party and the country. These are, for the most part, politically mature, skilled workers. But life does not mark time, and the demands on the personnel and, consequently, on work with them are growing constantly. Under current conditions it is important that the executive personnel have not simply higher education but also be specialists of the appropriate profile. There are still instances of the unwarranted replaceability of workers. Certain leaders become accustomed to shortcomings and lose their initiative owing to insufficient supervision and assistance on the part of the party committees. Unpromising workers are sometimes sent for training to party educational institutions. Particular mention should be made of the promotion of women to executive positions. As the 26th CPSU Congress pointed out, the possibilities for their promotion are not being realized in full. This is a serious rebuke to many party and soviet authorities. It is necessary to rectify this situation and promote women to leadership in various fields more boldly and actively.

The question of how the composition of executive personnel in the union and autonomous republics is formed also merits attention. The population of the Soviet republics is multinational. And, naturally, all nations have the right to representation in their party and state bodies. Of course, given strict consideration of each person's professional and ideological-moral qualities.

These fundamental instructions of the 26th CPSU Congress must constantly be taken into consideration in our personnel policy.

Under current conditions there is a manifold increase in the significance of the discipline and personal responsibility of the personnel, particularly the party and soviet leaders and managers. "Rights," L.I. Brezhnev said,

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"and big rights are granted leaders in order that they make full use of them. But every leader here must also constantly remember his high responsibility--responsibility to the people whom he is entrusted to lead and to the party and the people."*

Such responsibility is characteristic of our executive personnel as a whole. The basis of it is high awareness and devotion to one's people and the ideals of communism. The party never has built and does not now build discipline on fear and compulsion. But at the same time this does not mean that we may try to persuade and convince people who forget their duty ad infinitum. We still have workers who adopt an unconscientious attitude toward their work, disregard all-state interests and abuse their office. They allow breaches of official discipline and legality, mismanagement and extravagance and the defrauding of the state. Such acts are sometimes perpetrated in view of the party organizations and the public, but measures to put a stop to them are not adopted in good time. More scrupulousness needs to be displayed here. When a person begins to stray from the correct path, it is better to rectify him immediately and point out his shortcomings in comradely fashion. The party committees should give the lead here.

Demands should be particularly strict on party members. It is fitting to recall here how V.I. Lenin put this question. A Central Committee circular was passed on his initiative 60 years ago which determined that a communist should be doubly answerable for a breach of official discipline and Soviet law and order--to the party and to the law. We abide by this principle strictly today also.

Supervision and the verification of performance are intended to serve to increase personnel responsibility and improve all our work. They are an essential condition of the success of party leadership and all managerial work. Mention was made at the 26th party congress of the positive work on this matter done by the CPSU Central Committee, local party committees and soviet authorities. At the same time it was pointed out that the verification of performance remains a bottleneck in the activity of a considerable number of party organizations. This serious critical conclusion of the congress makes it incumbent upon us to attentively investigate the shortcomings exerting a negative influence on the state of verification of performance. This is frequently a lack of the proper professionalism, inadequate exactingness toward the executants and the absence of a precise system of supervision. Supervision is often made more difficult because an unjustifiably large number of decrees is adopted in places. This also applies to certain party committees. As Comrade L.I. Brezhnev said, unfortunately, not everyone has yet grasped the simple truth that the art of leadership consists not of producing and lavishing directive instructions on every pretext. Having made a decision, it is necessary to strive for its unswerving fulfillment within the specified time.**

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 50.
**Ibid., pp 72-73.

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It is essential that supervision be exercised systematically and promptly and from above and below simultaneously--such is a crucial task set all party and state authorities by our party's 26th congress.

IV

The 26th CPSU Congress paid great attention to questions of a further improvement in intraparty relations. It consolidated and continued our party's policy of undeviating observance of the principle of democratic centralism and the development of intraparty democracy, which always was and remains an essential condition of ensuring the high fighting efficiency of the party organizations and the development of the communists' creative assertiveness.

The results of the report and election campaign in the party conducted on the eve of the congress were a striking reflection of this process. It was evaluated highly in Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's report. The report and election meetings and conferences were held in a businesslike manner. Communists' attendance at meetings in the primary and shop party organizations and party groups was higher than ever. Altogether more than half of the communists who attended the meetings spoke in the debates. They adopted an attitude of high exactingness to an evaluation of the activity of the elective bodies and criticized omissions and shortcomings. The party committees collated many different proposals and observations on the basis of the results of the meetings and conferences. The report and election campaign stimulated the development of the activeness of all elements of the party; in the course thereof the mighty force of the party's collective wisdom and the united will of the communists and their close cohesion around the CPSU Central Committee were displayed anew.

It is important to consolidate these results and to strive to ensure that the professionalism and critical spirit which distinguished the report and election meetings, conferences and congresses held prior to the 26th CPSU Congress become firmly established in the entire life of the party organizations. It is important to further refine the practice of party meetings and plenums and enhance their fruitfulness and efficacy. "The party meeting," Comrade L.I. Brezhnev pointed out, "as also the plenum of any party committee, is a place where all burning issues must be discussed seriously and in depth."* However, it is not yet everywhere that the meetings and plenums are conducted in businesslike fashion. They are at times flawed by ostentation and excessive "advance organization". The speeches of many speakers are reminiscent of self-accounts. An attitude of due attention is not adopted everywhere to the judgments of party members and the observations and proposals which they express. Of course, not every proposal can be realized immediately, while some may prove unacceptable altogether. But everything which is useful and may serve to improve matters should undoubedly be used. This is also necessary to inculcate in every communist the feeling of master of his own organization and the party as a whole.

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 73.

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I would like to emphasize the important role of the party's elective activists. They currently constitute over 4.8 million communists, of whom 1.9 million are workers and peasants. They are members of the bureaus of practically all raykoms and gorkoms and the vast majority of obkoms. The elective activists link the executive authorities with the party masses, help them accumulate the thoughts and experience of party members and the working people and represent an inexhaustible personnel reserve. This is a big force, which largely determines the state of affairs in the party organizations. And it is necessary to use it as fully as possible and strive to ensure that everyone who is elected to executive party bodies participate in their work most actively. In a word, our elective activists must in their entirety be truly combat activists.

Intraparty information is an inalienable component of the party's democratic life. Much has been done in recent years to perfect it and expand publicity in the work of the party organizations. But there is much that can and should be improved in this respect. Inadequate use is made in a number of party organizations of such effective forms as reports at plenums about the work of the bureaus, the fulfillment of decisions adopted earlier and the realization of critical remarks and proposals. Some 2,466 union republic Communist Party central committee, kraykom and obkom plenums were held altogether in 3 years. Information was presented at only 313 of these on various questions of the activity of the party committees. Party committee briefings on the work done in the period between conferences directly in the primary party organizations are not organized systematically. Some 58 obkoms gave no such briefings at all in the past 5 years. We also have to considerably improve the quality of the information coming from below, from the party organizations. It is intended to catch in good time the new trends in the development of the party and society, truthfully reflect the phenomena of life and the mood of the masses, warn of shortcomings and pose questions which need to be solved.

The working people's letters and proposals are a most confidential and valuable source of information. These are a good indicator of Soviet people's civicism and political culture and an important channel of the party's live communication with the masses. As from an invigorating spring, the party constantly draws from the depths of popular life fresh thought and experience, which it subsequently accumulates in its policy and embodies in practical deeds.

The CPSU Central Committee received over 3 million of the working people's letters in the last 5-year period. A special department was set up in the CPSU Central Committee machinery for an improvement in the work with the letters. Letters, greetings and labor reports were addressed to the 26th party congress in a broad stream. Over 270,000 were received. A significant proportion of the letters and petitions was examined by the congress' secretariat. Many of the working people's proposals and observations were taken into consideration in the preparation of the documents of the congress, while others, in accordance with its decree, were forwarded for examination in the CPSU Central Committee.

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The party congress demanded of all party, soviet and management authorities a further improvement in the work with Soviet people's letters and proposals. It is essential to ensure a sensitive, attentive attitude toward their letters, increase officials' responsibility for investigation of the citizens' complaints and petitions and be more stringent in respect of those who permit formalism and bureaucratism in this important political matter. The instructions of the 26th party congress were made the basis of the recent CPSU Central Committee decree on this matter.

A sure means of a rise in the level of party work and a proven method which always helps our progressive advance is criticism and self-criticism. "The party of the revolutionary proletariat," V.I. Lenin wrote, "is sufficiently strong to openly criticize itself and to not mince words in calling a mistake a mistake and weakness weakness."* Our party possesses this quality in full measure. The extensive spread of criticism and self-criticism in recent years is an indicator of its increased strength and fighting capacity and the maturity of intraparty relations. The 26th CPSU Congress orients us toward intensifying this positive trend in every possible way, establishing a spirit of self-criticism and irreconcilability with shortcomings in all party organizations and increasing the efficacy of critical protests. It is sometimes the case that there is a good deal of criticism in this organization or the other, but that practical results are not in evidence. It is for years a question of essentially the same shortcomings. Yet criticism is not an end in itself or a play on words. It is an instrument of an improvement in work, and it is necessary that deeds unfailingly follow concrete and substantiated criticism. People's assertiveness will then grow, and their interest in the solution of problems which arise and removal of shortcomings and gaps will increase.

In the development of criticism and self-criticism ever increasing activeness is being displayed by the mass information media. The CPSU Central Committee orients the local party authorities and our personnel toward an attentive approach to the critical articles of the press and support for healthy criticism in print and television and radio broadcasts. The party organizations are obliged to be uncompromising in surmounting an incorrect attitude toward criticism when it is encountered. And, of course, all attempts at persecution because of criticism must be emphatically repulsed. Our party's position on this question is clearly enshrined in its Rules and is also reflected in the USSR Constitution.

The 26th party congress was a real school of a high-minded approach to all matters. The CPSU Central Committee Report and the speeches of the delegates noted with legitimate pride the great achievements of the party and the people. At the same time there was much blunt, candid and constructive criticism of shortcomings, criticism which leaves people with a sense of confidence in their own powers and evokes a resolve to strive for the best results. The congress thus objectively showed how the style of work of communists should combine a critical attitude toward shortcomings with a conviction as to the rightness of our cause and the historic advantages of our chosen path.

*V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 26, p 172.

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The CPSU's inner life becomes increasingly full-bloodied and meaningful with every passing year. And this is exerting a salutory influence not only on the activity of the party but also on the development of social relations and the extension of socialist democratism in general. The healthy creative atmosphere in the party also predetermines to a decisive extent the overall atmosphere and the favorable political climate in the country and is creating a good businesslike mood in Soviet people. The relations taking shape within the party and the democratic principles and forms permeating its inner life are being generally acknowledged and are being adopted by state and public organizations and the labor collectives. Every new step along the path of the extension of intraparty democracy is leadi g to the further unity of the party and the people and contributing to the all-around development of the democratic foundations of the Soviet sociopolitical system.

It is fitting here also to emphasize attention to the role being performed by the press, literature and art in the portrayal of the party's inner life and the depiction of the forms and methods of party leadership. An ever increasing number of works of fiction and poetry, motion pictures, stage performances and television broadcasts on these themes have been appearing recently. They evoke interest and help party workers and all readers and viewers to see life more fully. I would like to express the wish for greater depth in the portrayal of the entire diversity of party work.

The decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress set the soviets, trade unions and the Komsomol new tasks. The essence of the congress' directives is raising their entire work to an even higher level corresponding to their position in the political system of the Soviet society and the demands of the time. The CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers decree on the increased role of the soviets in economic building extends their rights appreciably and is a good incentive to a further stimulation of the activity of the soviet authorities locally. The party committees must constantly improve the practice of leadership of the soviets and the working people's mass organizations.

Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's report at the 26th CPSU Congress showed comprehensively and in depth how our party is living and developing under the conditions of developed socialism and what tasks it is tackling. Enriched with new experience of work, the party organizations are concentrating their forces on the successful fulfullment of the congress' historic decisions.

* K.V. Rusakov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee: "The 26th CPSU Congress on the Development of the World Socialist System"

The time separating us from the memorable days of the 26th CPSU Congress testifies convincingly and impressively that its solutions and conclusions were an event of historic significance.

This is true in respect of our internal affairs. The 26th CPSU Congress determined both the new frontiers which we are to reach in communist building and the appropriate methods and means for their achievement within the scheduled times. The creative, critical spirit of the congress gave not only the right direction but also a good lead for the work of the entire party and the entire Soviet people.

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This is also true in the foreign policy sphere. There has been a marked exacerbation of the international situation in recent years as a result of the actions of imperialism, primarily American. The previous U.S. Administration contrived to destroy much of that which was positive which had been created with such difficulty in Soviet-American relations in the preceding years. As far as the new U.S. Administration is concerned, it announced, right off, so to speak, that the United States must restore its lost world leadership and achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union and the socialist community.

The CPSU Central Committee Report delivered at the congress by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev cited a system of measures whose implementation would impart new life to detente and make our world a safer place. Of course, realization of the congress' foreign policy initiatives will take both time and strenuous efforts. But it is a fact that they are even now contributing to a recuperation of the international political climate. East-West dialogue is beginning to be stimulated, to which the recent talks of L.I. Brezhnev and A.A. Gromyko with H.-D. Genscher, minister of foreign affairs of West Germany, the results of the visit of N.A. Tikhonov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to Austria and the decision concerning L.I. Brezhnev's visit to the FRG at the invitation of this country's government testify.

We have a right to speak of the historic significance of the 26th congress in respect of the affairs of the big, complex and growing socialist world also. "The congress of the party of Lenin, and this can be said with complete justification," Comrade E. Honecker said at the recent 10th SED Congress, "was an event of tremendous significance for the Soviet people's further advance toward communism and for the entire socialist community and all international development." The fraternal parties are evaluating with gratitude the contribution which the 26th CPSU Congress made to the theory and practice of scientific communism.

As Comrade G. Husak emphasized at the congress of Czechoslovak communists, "the 26th CPSU Congress enriches our knowledge, implants confidence in us and inspires us to the further building of the developed socialist society." Comrade T. Zhivkov, leader of the Bulgarian communists, observed at the 12th Bulgarian Communist Party Congress: "The decisions of the 24th, 25th and 26th CPSU congresses, the new Soviet Constitution and the USSR's far-reaching achievements in economic and cultural building, the development of science and technology and the solution of man's material and spiritual problems—all these theoretically and practically determine the main landmarks of the new path along which other countries and peoples will proceed."

The socialist world today is made up of countries which are largely dissimilar in political and socioeconomic development level. Individual states have distinctive traditions. Each has its own national color, and, of course, in policy there are both features which are common to a number of countries and specific features. The situation and tasks of, say, Czechoslovakia and Laos and Cuba and the GDR are very dissimilar. It also happens that, unfortunately, national color is deliberately laid on inordinately thickly. It is then necessary to speak not of color but of nationalistic manifestations in policy.

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There are examples of this. However, the dominant trend in the socialist world is the trend toward the cohesion, strengthening of the interaction and expansion of the cooperation of the socialist states. This is of truly historic significance for the fate of world socialism.

It is fitting to recall Lenin's idea, which Comrade L.I. Brezhnev emphasized at the 26th CPSU Congress, concerning the fact that the existence of general regularities of the building of socialism, and this has been proven by historical practice, by no means signifies some "standardization" of ways and methods of accomplishing the tasks of building a new society. Both similar phenomena of the same type and inimitable individual features are neighbors in the practice of social development. Pointing to this nature of social progress, V.I. Lenin wrote: "...different nations take an identical historical path, but by zigzags and byways which vary to the highest degree...."* But it was a fundamental idea of Lenin's that "the unity of the international tactics of the communist workers' movement of all countries requires not the removal of diversity and not the extirpation of national differences (this is an absurd dream for this time) but such an application of the basic principles of communism...as would correctly modify these principles in details and correctly adapt and apply them to national and national-state differences."**

To the great credit of our party and other fraternal communist and workers' parties in power is the fact that they have been able to create a strong, cohesive family of socialist states. The tasks of the development and strengthening of our all-around interaction with the fraternal countries were and remain a principal concern of the CPSU Central Committee and Central CommitteePolitburo. Concerning the development of the socialist world, Comrade L.I. Brezhnev spoke thus at the 26th CPSU Congress: "All these years the party and its Central Committee and Politburo have paid unflagging attention to strengthening friendship and cooperation with the socialist countries.

"Together with them we are building a new, socialist world and an unprecedented type of relations between states which are really just, equal and fraternal."***

What are the results of this work, in what areas are the efforts of our party and country in mutual relations with the socialists countries concentrated and what is seen to be the future of the socialist world?

I

Speaking of relations with the socialist community countries--Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, the GDR, Cuba, Laos, Mongolia, Poland, Romania and

*V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 38, p 184.
**Ibid., vol 41, p 77.
***"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 5.

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Czechoslovakia--L.I. Brezhnev observed that "a fundamental unity of view has been established among us on all major problems of socioeconomic development and international policy."*

This, of course, is a very important achievement. It did not come about of its own accord. It was necessary "to work up to it," in Lenin's expression.

A tremendous contribution to this was made and continues to be made by our party's Central Committee Politburo and Comrade L.I. Brezhnev personally. The reports of L.I. Brezhnev's meetings with the leaders of the fraternal countries merely give a dotted outline of the tremendous and multifaceted work which is being done at the highest level to strengthen the interaction of the socialist states.

L.I. Brezhnev made 11 trips to the fraternal countries at the head of party-government delegations in the period between the 24th and 25th congresses alone. Some 37 meetings were held in the Crimea. L.I. Brezhnev headed the Soviet delegation at three meetings of the Warsaw Pact's Political Consultative Committee held in this period. He also headed the Soviet delegation at the 5 December 1980 Moscow meeting of leading figures of the states of the military-political defense alliance of the socialist countries. In the interests of the prompt solution of problems which arise L.I. Brezhnev regularly exchanges letters and communicates by telephone with the leaders of the fraternal parties and countries. Almost every session of the Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat examines diverse questions connected with our mutual relations with the socialist countries. And, of course, not only examines but also resolves in comradely and internationalist fashion. And the lead here is given by L.I. Brezhnev.

The meetings and talks with the leadership of the fraternal parties always require an in-depth understanding of their problems, difficulties and plans and great political tact. After all, every socialist country has its own particular features and its own national concerns. Serious questions have to be broached at times. Such, for example, were L.I. Brezhnev's talks at Crimea meetings in recent years with E. Gierek. Unfortunately, our timely warnings were resented by the previous Polish leadership as the fruit of incorrect information, and the appropriate conclusions were not drawn.

The Crimea meetings and the exchanges of opinions thereat lent impetus to the formulation of long-term questions of fundamental significance for the development of the socialist countries. They discussed in high-minded manner the key tasks of the extension of socialist economic integration, which was subsequently reflected in the development and adoption of long-term goal-oriented programs of cooperation and bilateral programs of specialization and cooperation between the USSR and the European CEMA countries. Invariably appreciable attention was paid to the key problems of world politics and the fraternal countries' joint foreign policy actions were coordinated and specified.

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 5.

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Collating the results of the Crimea meetings, L.I. Brezhnev put forward the idea of the creation of a wide-ranging energy program incorporating together with the accelerated development of atomic power engineering the stepped-up development of the rich gas and oil deposits in West Siberia. These meetings prompted the presentation at the 26th CPSU Congress of such a major task as supplementing the coordination of the socialist states' national economic plans with the coordination among them of economic policy as a whole.

Meetings of the Political Consultative Committee have an exceptionally important role in the extension of the interaction of the socialist countries in the foreign policy sphere. The paving of the way toward the All-European Conference in Helsinki, the advancement of a set of constructive proposals aimed at limiting and winding down the arms race, including the nuclear arms race, and consistent efforts aimed at combining the possibilities of the states of different social systems in the interests of the solution of global problems such as power engineering, transport and environmental protection may be put down to the credit of the Warsaw Pact in recent years alone.

The very emergence and development of the process of the actual relaxation of international tension was possible to a decisive extent thanks to the purposeful peace-loving policy of the fraternal states. It is not out of place to emphasize that the fact that the socialist countries possess dependable defensive resources for protecting their peoples' peaceful labor is connected with the activity of the Warsaw Pact.

The creation within the Warsaw Pact framework of the Foreign Ministers' Committee was a very important step. Sessions of this committee are held twice a year, as a rule, which makes it possible to promptly coordinate the socialist countries' approach to the most important international problems. Collective deputy foreign minister meetings are also held regularly. As before, and this was mentioned at the 26th CPSU Congress, important work on the organizational development of the Joint Armed Forces is performed by the Defense Ministers' Committee.

Full-fledged, close relations along party lines are undoubtedly the pivot of the socialist states' entire cooperation. It is precisely the interaction of the fraternal communist parties which determines the successful development of the socialist countries' cooperation in all spheres and all directions and the enlistment of the broad working people's masses in this cooperation. L.I. Brezhnev said clearly and accurately at the 26th CPSU Congress: "Relations between states have been called international from of old. But it is only in our time, in the socialist world, that they have really become relations between peoples. Millions and millions of people participate in them directly. This, comrades, is a fundamental gain of socialism and its great service to mankind."*

Relations and cooperation with our foreign socialist friends have become an inalienable part of the party work of practically every republic, kray and obalst and party organization.

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 6.

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The field of our cooperation with the socialist countries is expanding continuously. And, what is particularly important, the fruit of this cooperation is multiplying. It may be said with complete justification that the friendship, interaction and mutual assistance of the socialist countries have become an organic ingredient of the successes of each fraternal country and the entire socialist community as a whole.

This has been corroborated impressively by the recent period, and it has not, as is known, been easy. The socialist world is not hermetically sealed off from world economic conditions. There was a sharp increase in the price of energy carriers and raw material in the 1970's, which, in turn, entailed a considerable increase in the costs of the finished product, particularly the technically complex product. Conditions on the world market became tougher and bleaker, and competitive struggle became more acute.

On the other hand, it was in this period that it was revealed in the majority of socialist countries that extensive factors of the development of the economy are being increasingly exhausted and that the tasks of intensification of the national economies are arising in full magnitude.

It should be added to what has been said that the international situation was by no means even. The crisis situations which arose diverted part of the socialist countries' resources into defense needs and assistance to their allies, whereas under different, more tranquil conditions these resources could have been used entirely in the interests of the development of production and a rise in the people's living standard.

But even under such difficult conditions the socialist community countries were able to take a significant step forward. This applies fully to the Soviet Union, whose impressive achievements were strikingly presented in the reports and speeches at the 26th CPSU Congress. National income increased, and increased in all the fraternal countries, moreover. It increased 67 percent in the period 1971-1980 in the CEMA countries as a whole, industrial production increased 86 percent and agricultural products increased 17 percent. There was a 60-percent replacement of fixed production capital on average. Labor productivity in industry and real income per capita grew by a factor of approximately 1.5.

"What has been done by the socialist countries in economic development and in a rise in people's living standard is an entire era,"* Comrade L.I. Brezhnev rightly emphasized at the 26th CPSU Congress.

The socialist community countries' achievements in the economy are in marked contrast to the unsure, hesitant rhythm of the development of the capitalist economy. If there is something that has been growing, and growing rapidly, in recent years in the capitalist countries it is inflation and unemployment. The crisis phenomena are striking not only individual enterprises or sectors, they are shaking the entire economic organism of the capitalist states.

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 7.

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The CEMA countries' economic growth rate in the decade was twice as high as in the developed capitalist countries. It is the socialist community which was and remains the most dynamic developing group of states. Whence the new correlation of economic potentials of the socialist and capitalist countries. Currently, for example, the CEMA members produce 1.4 times more electric power, 1.6 times more steel and twice as much mineral fertilizer as all the Common Market states together, among which are the FRG, France, Britain, Italy and other highly developed European capitalist states.

All these data eloquently attest the real value of the claims of imperialist propaganda concerning the economic crisis which has allegedly swept the socialist community. Under the complex and far from favorable conditions of recent years the advantages of the economy's organization on socialist principles have been perfectly clear and convincing.

The socialist states' successes are connected to a decisive extent, naturally, with the national efforts of individual countries. In Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Romania, Czechoslovakia and other socialist states a great deal of work has been and continues to be performed on involving all national resources in the economic turnover, management of the economy is being streamlined and additional opportunities for stimulating and increasing labor productivity are being sought. Much is also being done in the sphere of the economical expenditure of energy, raw material and intermediate products.

I will cite just one example. In 1980 the GDR achieved a national income growth of 4.2 percent and an industrial production growth of 4.7 percent with a 1.2-percent reduction in the consumption of fuel-energy resources. Good, instructive results, without doubt.

We rejoice in friends' achievements as our own. The stronger each socialist country, the stronger our entire socialist community also.

An exceptionally valuable addition to the national potential of the socialist states is the development of socialist economic integration. It has become an irreplaceable factor of the successes of the economic growth of each fraternal socialist country. It was said at the 26th CPSU Congress with complete justification that it is now difficult to imagine the sure development of this socialist country or the other and its successful solution of such problems as supply of energy resources and raw material and the introduction of the latest achievements of science and technology without relations with the other fraternal countries.

Reciprocal commodity turnover of the CEMA countries is characterized by constant and unswerving growth. This is mutually profitable commodity turnover, in the main. Thus supplies from the USSR cover one-third of the fraternal countries' machinery and equipment and, to a considerable extent, home appliance import requirements. The Soviet Union supplies the socialist countries with energy carriers and other most valuable raw material in great volume. In the last 5 years the Soviet Union supplied the socialist countries with approximately 463 million tons of oil and petroleum products and 96 billion cubic meters of natural gas. Despite the certain limitedness of natural resources and the increasing difficulty of their extraction, in the

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new 5-year period also our country will maintain supplies of petroleum products to the fraternal socialist countries at a high level.

In turn, the socialist countries are supplying the USSR on an ever growing scale with a variety of industrial equipment, machinery and transport facilities. Equipment obtained from Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria and Romania is operating at thousands of Soviet enterprises. Many ships of our maritime fleet were made in Poland and the GDR. Particular mention should be made of the consumer goods which we receive from the fraternal countries, the selection and quantity of which is being replenished and enriched considerably thanks to cooperation within the CEMA framework. Thus the proportion of commodities from the socialist states constitutes 17 percent of furniture, clothing and footwear sales in the USSR.

For the satisfaction of mutual requirements the socialist countries embarked in the 1970's within the framework of integration on the creation of joint large-scale projects. Some of these have already been commissioned. These are the Kiyembayevskiy Asbestos Works, the Ust'-Ilimskiy Cellulose Plant, the "Erdenet" Mining-Concentrating Works in Mongolia, a complex for gas extraction and treatment based on the Orenburg deposit and the unique "Soyuz" gas main. The list of such projects could be continued. Work on their installation is being performed in a number of countries, and there is no doubt that it will increase in scale in the years to come.

In illustration of how the socialist countries are approaching questions of economic integration we may quote G. Husak's statement at the 16th Czechoslovak Communist Party Congress. He said: "Foreign economic relations are an inalienable component of our economic policy. The more extensive incorporation of the Czechoslovak economy in the international division of labor is an objective necessity. The basis of this process is primarily the all-around development of mutually profitable trade, economic and scientific-technical relations within the CEMA framework and the extension of our participation in socialist economic integration. An irreplaceable role is performed here by comprehensive economic cooperation with the Soviet Union."

In speaking of socialist economic integration it should also be mentioned that the capacity of the socialist market is growing thanks to its development. The countries producing this product or the other are acquiring the opportunity to organize really large-scale world class production. Some concrete facts. The distribution of orders among aviation industry enterprises has given socialist Poland the position of the main supplier of agricultural aviation among the CEMA countries. This has enabled Poland to develop production capable of withstanding competition on all markets. It has emerged in first place in the world in the manufacture of aircraft for agriculture. The Polish aviation industry has become the biggest producer of aircraft of the air medical service and certain types of passenger airplane. There is a multitude of similar examples with reference to various socialist countries.

There is one further important element which is undoubtedly reflected positively in the socialist states' achievements, namely, the great, diverse experience

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of work on the building and strengthening of the new society that has been accumulated by the fraternal parties. This experience includes questions of party and state leadership. It concerns a refinement of socialist planning, management of the national economy and rich and diverse forms of ideological work.

The socialist community countries possess many channels for mutual study of one another's experience. Exchanges of visits by party-government delegations. Regular meetings of party central committee secretaries dealing with international and ideological problems and questions of organizational-party work. The plan-based exchange of party delegations of various levels. The close contacts of departments, the mass information media, public organizations and creative unions. And, undoubtedly, local communications. "The party organizations of the Soviet Union and the socialist community countries are linked by a multitude of threads," Comrade L.I. Brezhnev said at the 26th CPSU Congress. "They are linked at all levels--from republic, kray and oblast through rayon and large enterprise. Cooperatives between state authorities, public organizations and production collectives has assumed a lively, fruitful nature."*

The aggregate experience of the socialist countries in the accomplishment of the manifold tasks of socialist building is most valuable capital, and we should learn how to avail ourselves of it. It is well known how highly the Soviet example and our experience of socialist and communist building is valued in the fraternal countries. Our socialist friends are applying it skillfully and creatively to their own conditions.

When everything of value that has been found in Soviet practice becomes the property of the fraternal states, we can only rejoice at this. And it is worth our while, in turn, inculcating in ourselves a good, necessary "thirst" in respect of the positive experience of friends. L.I. Brezhnev said with all certainty at the 26th CPSU Congress: "Let us, comrades, study more attentively and make more extensive use of the experience of the fraternal countries."** This is a task of state importance.

A special interdepartmental council headed by Comrade N.K. Baybakov, chairman of the USSR Gosplan, and his deputies, Comrade G.I. Marchuk, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, and Comrade N.V. Talyzin, the USSR's permanent CEMA representative, was formed recently for the more in-depth and systematic study of the practice of socialist management in the fraternal countries and the proper preparation of proposals on the use of their positive experience. This council has been set the tasks of analyzing and comprehensively evaluating the results and consequences of the changes occurring in the economic mechanism of the fraternal countries and the development of production, science and technology and preparing proposals on the expediency of the use of friends' positive experience in the USSR's practice.

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 5.
**Ibid., p 7.

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At the same time there are significant opportunities for studying the experience of the socialist countries along local party relations and production collective direct contact lines. The union republics and more than 100 krays, oblasts and cities of the Soviet Union are participating in friendly relations. The work volume here is growing continuously. And much is being done.

Here are just a few examples. Some 120 plants and factories in Czechoslovakia's West Slovak region are working in accordance with the so-called Saratov system of an increase in product quality. The Bulgarian comrades have obtained a big saving by having introduced the Soviet technique of the mechanized harvesting and processing of cotton. They are making good use of the Rostov workers' experience of socialist competition in the organization of "work without stragglers". The Rostov workers, in turn, have applied with great benefit the Bulgarian experience of vegetable growing, horticulture and viticulture. Having studied the work of agrochemical centers in the GDR, our comrades from Lipetsk have created an agrochemical service in accordance with their example, having organized rayon agrochemical associations. The Muscovites have borrowed from their Berlin colleagues a new method of finishing residential buildings, which provides a saving of more than 10,000 man-days annually for one house-building works alone.

These are to some extent individual examples. But they are becoming increasingly numerous, and the task is to proceed along this path in a broad front. If everything of value is made the property of all our party and management organizations, the profit will be enormous.

The problem of the study and use of the valuable work experience of each fraternal socialist country and each fraternal party is also a central problem in ideological and organizational-party cooperation.

The tasks being tackled by the socialist countries are creative and largely new tasks. We recall the respect with which Comrade L.I. Brezhnev spoke at the congress about the concrete positive experience of individual fraternal countries. This experience is wide-ranging. And party alertness to all that is new and interesting emerging in the socialist countries is undoubtedly justifying itself.

Taken in all its fullness, the picture of the contemporary socialist world indicates convincingly that world socialism is advancing confidently in the development of the economy and culture and in the refinement of social relations and socialist democracy—in literally all spheres. This conclusion, which L.I. Brezhnev drew at the 26th CPSU Congress, is corroborated by the entire practice of the development of the socialist community countries.

II

Performing a tremendous amount of work on the extension of cooperation with the socialist countries, our party organizes it in differentiated manner, with

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regard for the singularities of the domestic and international situation and the tasks of each socialist state.

Without dwelling in detail on the Soviet Union's bilateral relations with all the socialist states, I will describe the relations with just a few of them.

First of all, Poland and the serious and dangerous crisis which it is experiencing.

The 26th CPSU Congress provided the essential clue to an in-depth understanding of the causes and political content of the Polish crisis.

The PZPR and the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties are unanimous that the main cause of the crisis development in Poland were the big mistakes and miscalculations of the former Polish leadership in economic and social policy and the flagrant departures from the regularities and principles of socialist building in Poland in recent years.

Economic policy was pursued voluntaristically and in violation of the elementary laws of socialist management concerning the plan-oriented proportional development of the economy, the substantiated nature of capital investments, the correlation of accumulation and consumption, the distribution of national income, implementation of the necessary social measures and so forth.

The financial-economic relations with the West were extremely risky. Credit was accepted there recklessly, it may be said, and at high and often simply exorbitant rates of interest. As a result the country's foreign debt has now risen to $27 billion. But this is not the whole trouble. The technology purchased in the capitalist countries for the production of finished output requires constant imports, again from abroad, for foreign exchange of components, raw materials and intermediate products. As a result all of Polish exports must now go toward paying off the debts and interest on the debts.

The departures from the Leninist standards of party life and the principles of party leadership and the breaches of legality, socialist democracy and the requirements of socialist morality were also seriously reflected in the situation in the country. They greatly undermined the party's relations with the masses and prepared the soil for the stimulation of opposition antisocialist forces. "The events in Poland persuade us yet again," L.I. Brezhnev emphasized at the 26th CPSU Congress, "how important for the party and the strengthening of its leading role it is to sensitively heed the voice of the masses, emphatically combat all manifestations of bureaucratism and voluntarism, actively develop socialist democracy and pursue a weighed realistic policy in foreign economic relations."*

Underestimation of the danger of the subversive activity of outside forces and antisocialist groups within the country and ideological carelessness were manifestly reflected in the development of the Polish events. Even such a

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 10.

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grouping as the KOS-KOR, an avowedly counterrevolutionary grouping, had a chance to operate essentially legally in the country. The imperialist centers lent their hand to the kindling of tension in the country. There is today no doubt that Poland, with such of its particular features as the existence of an influential church, an uncooperativized agriculture and an extensive foreign colony (over 10 million Poles live in the United States and a number of other Western countries), was long since selected by the imperialist centers as a kind of "weak link" of the socialist community for large-scale counterrevolutionary sabotage.

Thus it is not socialism which was the cause of the crisis situation in Poland, as anticommunist propaganda attempts to portray it, but the departure from its laws and principles and also the ideological sabotage against it of foreign and internal enemies. And it is perfectly justifiable that it is on the paths of the strengthening of the socialist system, its economic basis and the political and ideological superstructure that the PZPR is seeking a way out of the crisis.

Unfortunately, the crisis in Poland continues.

The economic situation in the country, which was extremely grave as it was, has deteriorated in recent months. Strikes which lasted many months and the tension and conflicts continuously created by the antisocialist forces have most seriously damaged Poland's economy and the country's entire state and public life. The fact that the country's national income has declined for the third year running is taking its toll, and there are serious shortages in the consumer goods' market. And at this same time the party and government are being oppressed by the burden of the commitments ensuing from the agreements signed with the strike committees in Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie. Their fulfillment is becoming difficult owing to the disorganization of economic life.

The ideological atmosphere in the country is aggravated by manifestations of nationalism and anarcho-syndicalism and the spread of petit bourgeois views. Antisocialist elements are increasingly breaking through to the mass information media. Having obtained a variety of printing and duplicating machines in the West, they are literally filling the country with leaflets of a hostile, inflammatory nature. It is no wonder that a considerable proportion of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia is confused. A concentrated campaign of slander against the party and its personnel is being conducted. The opposition is attacking the public-order services.

The situation remains grave in the political plane also. The new Solidarity trade union association, in many regional branches and organizations of which the leading role has been seized by advisers from the KOS-KOR counterrevolution organization, has in fact become an organized political force essentially paralyzing party and state activity in the country. In creating one crisis situation after another KOS-KOR figures are bringing matters to the point of snatching power from the PZPR. They are operating insidiously and resourcefully here, employing the well-known methods of silent, creeping counterrevolution.

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The opposition's recently chosen tactics aimed at decomposing the party organizations from within is exceptionally dangerous in this plane. Endeavoring to regenerate the party "on legal grounds," so to speak, the opposition, taking advantage of unstable opportunist elements in the party itself, has initiated subversive work in the local party organizations to thus send its own people as delegates to the Ninth PZPR Congress and also foist its own program on the congress.

Anticipating events, Solidarity made public its own draft program document in order to initiate the precongress discussion on the basis of this. Its criticism of Poland's political and economic system and the demands for the lifting of restrictions on private property and, essentially, legalization of the opposition leave no doubt that the personalities operating under the Solidarity signboard set as their goal the transformation of the socialist system in the country.

The unfolding situation is such that whereas in putting forward the "renewal of socialism" slogan the present Polish leadership is endeavoring to restore and strengthen the relations with the masses, overcome the mistakes of the previous leadership and normalize the situation in the country, certain figures operating on behalf of Solidarity and clutching at the "renewal" slogan are moving in a different direction and endeavoring to erode the socialist system.

To this is added the provocative and instigatory position of the United States and other capitalist states also. Western personalities, primarily American, have gone as far as to attempt to prescribe for the Polish leadership what it may and may not do in its own country. The crisis in Poland, and this must be seen, is not confined to a national Polish framework. It is virtually imperialism's biggest attempt in recent years to change the correlation of sociopolitical forces in Europe in its favor.

In the situation that has come about the CPSU Central Committee is making constant and energetic efforts to help the Polish comrades overcome the time of crisis. The convening at the start of last December of a meeting of leading figures of the Warsaw Pact states was dictated by the interests of assistance to fraternal Poland. The meetings and contacts of L.I. Brezhnev and other members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and the Soviet Government with the present Polish leadership were also subordinated to this goal. The Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries have rendered and continue to render Poland considerable economic assistance.

It would be a mistake to believe that the whole Polish working class follows the Solidarity trade union association and, even less, its extremist figures. Yes, Solidarity has millions of people. But the views and beliefs of the absolute majority of them are far from the antisocialist purposes of Solidarity's counterrevolutionary advisers. Polish working people treasure the gains of socialism. Headed by the communists, they have built a strong, sovereign Poland since the war. Socialism in Poland has given the working people much. And it is not fortuitous that the extremists' views are now beginning to encounter increasingly great repudiation in different strata of the Polish

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people. The PZPR has people it can rely on and those with whom it can struggle together for the consolidation of the socialist gains.

The CPSU Central Committee continues to keep an attentive eye on the development of events in Poland, reacts appropriately to all, in any way important, peripeteias in the continuing political struggle there and actively supports the Polish comrades' efforts to overcome the crisis.

I would also like very briefly to mention our relations with two socialist countries located on the distant flanks, as it were, of the socialist system--Cuba and Vietnam.

Born in the fire of the nationwide struggle against the pro-imperialist regime, the Cuban revolution has become a shining torch lighting the path to the future for the Latin American peoples.

Cuba today is living the selfless labor of socialist creation. The decisions of the Second Cuban Communist Party Congress, which was held last December, outlined new prospects of socialist building. Course has been set toward the development of the country's material-technical base, an increase in labor productivity and the growth of production efficiency. The process of cooperativization of the Cuban peasantry also continues. The party is consistently pursuing here a policy of observance of voluntariness in the creation of cooperatives and of ensuring their efficiency.

It should be said that the international situation in which Cuba lives is very complex. As is known, the new Washington Administration has taken the path of unconcealed threats and provocations against Cuba. A systematic anti-Cuba campaign in Latin America is being conducted by U.S. ruling circles. But Cuba is standing firm. Given the situation, the Second Cuban Communist Party Congress adopted a decision to create territorial people's volunteer detachments. Hundreds of thousands of Cubans have joined their ranks, devoting part of their free time to military training classes. "We are entirely devoted to creative work, but are preparing to defend the homeland with the same resolve...," Comrade F. Castro declared from the platform of the 26th CPSU Congress. "We will defend to the death each inch of land if imperialism dares to attack our socialist homeland."*

The CPSU, the Soviet country and the entire socialist community are solid with revolutionary Cuba. This was authoritatively said by L.I. Brezhnev from the platform of the 16th Czechoslovak Communist Party Congress. This political statement has been heard where needed.

Another such country whose people have had to withstand so many trials and who have borne so much in the life of a single generation as the Vietnamese people is probably not to be found in modern history. In the harshest war

*"Greetings to the 26th CPSU Congress From Communist, Workers' and National-Democratic Parties," p 28.

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against the American imperialists and their Saigon puppets they achieved the reunification of the homeland, but then as early as the spring of 1979 were having to ward off the aggression of the Chinese expansionists. The single socialist Vietnam has been in existence only 5 years. And the Vietnamese people have not yet succeeded in healing the wounds of war.

As our Vietnamese friends mention, in addition to the objective difficulties they lack experience of socialist management. They are striving hungrily for a study of Soviet practice and attentively scrutinizing the experience of the other fraternal socialist countries. As in Cuba, so in Vietnam great and valuable assistance in the mastery of the socialist science and practice of state and economic management is being rendered by our advisers and specialists.

The Vietnamese communists say candidly that for many years they underestimated economic problems to a certain extent. The consequences of such views continue to be reflected today also, in respect of the use of cost accounting and material incentive included. The leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee understands the importance of this problem and is making active efforts to solve it. The necessary personnel shifts are being made, the extensive retraining of executives of all levels of party, state and economic management is under way and the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee and the government have adopted corresponding decisions and practical measures with respect to economic questions.

It is believed that the Vietnamese comrades' real, energetic quest for the best, optimum solutions for the all-around strengthening of socialist Vietnam and also the firm orientation toward the multiplication of ties to the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries will enable the Communist Party of Vietnam to tackle the tasks confronting the country successfully.

It is very important that the Communist Party of Vietnam has frustrated all Beijing's attempts to bring about a split in its ranks. The Vietnamese communists are proceeding as a strong and cohesive party toward their fifth congress, which will most likely be held at the end of 1981.

As far as Soviet-Vietnamese relations proper are concerned, they are characterized by a clearly expressed trend toward intensification. This, incidentally, was confirmed by the talks of L.I. Brezhnev and other Soviet leaders with the Vietnamese leadership in March 1981 in Moscow.

As we know, the CPSU Central Committee Report raised specially the question of China. This approach reflects China's real place in the modern world.

Following the victory of the revolution in 1949, China embarked on a period of transition to socialism and was advancing successfully. However, over the last two decades the PRC's socioeconomic development has been disfigured by a distortion of the principles and essence of socialism. At the same time it is wrong to believe that the PRC is finally lost for socialism. On the contrary, the struggle for China's return to the positions of Marxism-Leninism will continue.

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Perfectly understandable in this connection is the attention which the 26th CPSU Congress paid to the Chinese problem.

First, the congress, and this is the main point, demonstrated the consistency and high-mindedness of our party's line in respect of China. The soundness and promising nature of the CPSU's policy, as, equally, the correctness of the evaluations which the party made of the policy and ideology of Maoism, have been corroborated by practice.

Second, L.I. Brezhnev's report emphasized that the experience of the PRC's socioeconomic development in the last two decades is a serious lesson. It shows to what a departure from the principles of socialism in domestic and international policy leads.

Third, the report observes that changes are under way in China's internal life whose true meaning time has still to show.

And fourth and finally, there was a precise exposition of our policy, the essence of which amounts to the fact that we firmly oppose Beijing's ideology and policy, which is hostile to our country and the cause of socialism, and at the same time invariably advocate the organization of good-neighborly relations with the PRC based on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

The development of the situation in China will largely depend on the extent to which it succeeds in surmounting Mao's legacy. This legacy is weighing as a heavy load on the Chinese people. There is stagnation in the national economy. Inflation is growing, prices are rising and 130 million people are suffering from a shortage of food. The number of unemployed has reached 30 million--almost one-fourth of the country's entire urban population.

The factional struggle in the party and the country is not abating. It is being waged primarily between different groups in the Chinese leadership. But in the power struggle both are advocating China's conversion into a strong military-industrial power and both stand on a single ideological-political platform, which includes "Sinicized Marxism," hegemonism and anti-Sovietism.

The Maoists' distortion over many years of the principles of socialism have led to increased doubts among party members and the working people of the PRC concerning the policy of the Beijing leadership and its capacity for leading China onto a healthy development path. A kind of "crisis of faith" has arisen.

China's present leaders themselves call the practices of their country of the period of the so-called cultural revolution "the cruelest feudal-fascist dictatorship". Admission of the tremendous damage inflicted on China by the "great leap forward" and the "communization" of the countryside at the end of the 1950's may also be encountered in the Chinese press.

While agreeing that Mao Zedong made many mistakes the present Chinese leadership nonetheless protects him, declaring that his merits should be put first and his mistakes second. Mao Zedong's thoughts, which actually led Chinese

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society to a blind alley, are declared to be, despite everything, "the quintessence of the Chinese people's revolutionary struggle". The Chinese press recently published a number of so-called fundamental articles which insistently emphasize the role of Maoism as the "guiding ideology of the party and the state".

We cannot yet speak of any changes for the better in Beijing's foreign policy. It is aimed, as before, at exacerbation of the international situation, is linked with the policy of imperialism and is of an avowedly anti-Soviet nature. Our mass information media illustrate extensively and in detail the international activity of the Chinese leadership and daily reveal its anti-socialist content. For this reason I will dwell only on certain features.

Despite certain differences, the trend toward rapprochement is predominant in the PRC's relations with the capitalist world. The rough patches, particularly on the Taiwan issue, which emerged with the assumption of office in the United States of the Reagan Administration are being smoothed over. Washington sent to Beijing former President Ford, who assured the Chinese leaders that the Reagan Administration would work to strengthen Chinese-American relations.

As a whole, the Chinese leadership's foreign policy runs counter to the interests of the cause of peace and social progress. The PRC's joint and parallel actions with the imperialist powers are aimed at disrupting the existing military-strategic balance between the two world systems to the benefit of imperialism. This is a dangerous partnership for the cause of peace.

A few words about Soviet-Chinese relations. They remain virtually frozen. Beijing declines to continue talks on the normalization of relations between the USSR and the PRC. The border talks were suspended in July 1978. Trade is declining. Beijing does not, to judge by everything, intend to seek paths leading to a normalization and, even less, a real improvement in relations with the Soviet Union. The mass propaganda organs in China are intensifying the anti-Soviet hysteria. The Chinese side is advancing knowingly unacceptable demands concerning our country's sovereignty and territorial integrity and its international commitments. It is sufficient to list just a few of the claims being put forward by the Chinese leadership to get an idea of its "appetite". Thus Beijing demands the unilateral pullback of Soviet troops from the border with China, recognition of a number of areas on USSR territory as "disputed" (in fact belonging to the PRC), withdrawal of Soviet subunits from Mongolia and Afghanistan, where they are at the request of the governments of these countries, and an end to support for Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea.

None of this, of course, gives any grounds for speaking of the possibility of an improvement in relations with the PRC in the immediate future. Nor can we ignore Beijing's increased hostile propaganda. Exposing the anti-Soviet intrigues of the Beijing rulers, cogently showing the harsh lessons to which the distortion of the principles of socialism in China's domestic and foreign policy lead and revealing the antipopular essence of Mao's legacy, including the current "modifications" of Maoism, are important tasks of our ideological and propaganda front.

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III

The clear Marxist-Leninist analysis of the state of affairs in the socialist world and the scrupulous presentation of all the urgent problems of its development contained in the CPSU Central Committee Report to the 26th CPSU Congress are an action program for the party and all Soviet people in such a key direction of Soviet foreign policy as is the strengthening of mutual relations with the fraternal socialist countries.

In the light of the results of the recent Second Cuban Communist Party Congress, 12th Bulgarian Communist Party Congress, 16th Czechoslovak Communist Party Congress and 10th SED Congress and the decisions of the executive party bodies of a number of other fraternal parties it is clear that the socialist countries have outlined precise reference points and are confidently taking the Marxist-Leninist course in their domestic and foreign policy. The strategic thrust of their policy is invariable and it concurs in what is basic and most important with the cardinal directions of the activity of the CPSU and the Soviet people for the 1980's.

But confirmation of the chosen course and fidelity to it do not mean merely repetition. The 1980's confront the USSR and the other socialist community countries with tasks which are in some respects different from those of the 1970's. The heights which have to be scaled in communist building and in the building of a developed socialist society are, of course, somewhat steeper and higher than those scaled hitherto. And it has to be mentioned that in the 1980's the socialist countries are planning to overcome so-called bottlenecks, remove certain disproportions in the development of the economy and, what is most important, transfer the economy to the tracks of intensive development.

Assessing the particular features of the present stage, L.I. Brezhnev said at the 26th CPSU Congress: "We are far from painting the picture of the present-day socialist world in completely festive tints. There are also difficulties in the development of our countries. The transition to the intensive development of the economy and the realization of large-scale social programs and the molding of a communist consciousness--none of these comes about immediately. Time and unflagging creative search are necessary here."*

The tremendous amount of work being performed currently in the socialist countries encompasses the most important spheres of social life.

The center thereof in the political sphere is the task of a further increase in the leading role of the ruling communist and workers' parties. And the path toward this is well known and does not have to be sought. It is an all-around increase in the efficiency of party leadership of all areas of state, economic and social life, strict observance of the Leninist standards of party life and the assertion of a Leninist style in all work. It is the further

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," pp 6-7.

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multiplication and expansion of the communists' ties to the masses. It is an improvement in socialist democracy and constant concern for the active role of all state and public organizations of the working people in the accomplishment of the tasks of socialist and communist building.

There are also many important tasks in the ideological sphere, and they do not amount merely to counteracting the dirty "psychological warfare" being conducted against us by the subversive imperialist centers, although this is, of course, a very important task. In the light of the conclusions of the 26th CPSU Congress it is essential that we continue work on the theoretical interpretation of socialist practice, constantly enrich Marxist-Leninist theory and seek out and support everything new which is born in the creative activity of the socialist world.

When it is a question of the socialist states' mutual relations and their mutual influence, there are no trifling, insignificant issues. After all, millions of people are directly involved in relations between socialist countries. Live contacts with foreign comrades are made on festive dates, in a day-to-day work atmosphere, in the process of familiarization with progressive experience, at the time of cultural measures and on vacation even. In all cases we must ask ourselves to what extent do the forms of our cooperation and its quality correspond to the significance of the established contacts and their diversity and how flexibly is a search being conducted for forms of mutual relations which would reveal new opportunities for strengthening friendship and propaganda of the Soviet way of life.

The answer to these questions would not necessarily, I believe, be unreservedly positive. Unfortunately, there is still a gravitation toward the old forms of relations, which do not entirely take account of present-day requirements and where the accent is on showy meetings and official reports, although life demands a more businesslike approach and a more in-depth and lively study of each other's experience.

The party organizations are called on to display particular concern for Soviet people's sound preparation for trips to the fraternal socialist countries. It is not only purposefulness, smartness and good manners which are needed—none of these are out of place at home. It is essential to know the historical traditions of the country one is visiting and take account of them and to display the necessary tact and, at the same time, party scrupulousness and civic pride. None of these are trifling matters.

Tasks of a large scale and complexity confront the socialist countries in the economic sphere. Questions of the intensification of production and its increased efficiency and an improvement in product quality are undoubtedly at the center of all economic work.

The CPSU and the fraternal parties are setting course toward making the upcoming two 5-year plans a period of the intensive production and scientific-technical cooperation of the socialist countries. L.I. Brezhnev put forward very important questions of long-term significance in this plane at the congress. "Life itself," he said, "sets the task of supplementing the coordination of plans with the coordination of economic policy as a whole. Such questions

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are the rapprochement of the structures of the economic mechanisms, the further development of direct relations between the ministries, associations and enterprises participating in the cooperation, the creation of joint firms and other possible forms of the combination of our efforts and resources are also on the agenda."*

Our foreign friends are endeavoring--and this can be seen clearly in the decisions of the recent congresses of the fraternal parties--to make fuller use of their national resources and at the same time, in cooperation with us, to take an important new step forward in the development of socialist economic integration. This is undoubtedly a promising orientation.

The socialist countries have entered the 1980's with strong production and scientific-technical potential. The skillful combination of the efforts of the socialist community countries will make it possible to successfully tackle many urgent tasks.

I will not cite a large number of examples. I shall dwell on power engineering. This is, it may be said, the problem of problems. Its realization now has a solid foundation. The socialist countries have concluded, inter alia, an agreement on the international specialization and concentration of production and reciprocal supplies of equipment for nuclear power stations for the period 1981-1990. More than 50 associations and enterprises of seven countries of the community and Yugoslavia are participating in this agreement. Its implementation provides for the construction of nuclear power stations in the fraternal countries with a total capacity of 37 million kilowatts. The role of flagships of atomic engineering of the socialist community countries has been assumed by the Soviet "Atommash," the Czechoslovak Skoda Association and the Magdeburg Heavy Engineering Works in the GDR.

It may be expected that the fraternal socialist countries will also participate in accelerated development of the very rich oil and gas deposits in West Siberia and the creation of the corresponding transport facilities and processing industry capacity outlined at the 26th CPSU Congress. And the deposits in West Siberia are truly unique, particularly the gas deposits. According to scientists' calculations, they are the equivalent of approximately 50-100 trillion cubic meters of gas, and 1 billion cubic meters of gas is the equivalent of 1 million tons of oil. If we take from these deposits 1 trillion a year, merely the reserves that have been prospected will be sufficient for a very long period. Such that their development will create a strong energy base both for the Soviet economy and the economy of the fraternal socialist countries.

L.I. Brezhnev said at the 26th CPSU Congress: "We are all interested in seeing the socialist market capable of satisfying the growing requirements of the countries of our community. And the benefit from the addition to each other's economic possibilities is not, of course, measured merely in purely commercial terms. The accomplishment of this task requires a responsible approach on the part of economic planners and party workers and a profound understanding of the inseparable community of interests of the fraternal countries."**

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 8.
**Ibid., pp 8-9.

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The socialist community and each fraternal socialist country has vast creative plans. In the interests of their realization the socialist community is persistently and firmly pursuing a policy of the consolidation of peace and the strengthening of international security. This work is being performed today on the basis of the peace program for the 1980's put forward and approved by the 26th CPSU Congress.

Operating amicably and cohesively and multiplying cooperation with present-day peace-loving forces, the socialist countries possess the opportunities for the creation of foreign policy conditions conductive to the realization of everything outlined in the plane of socialist and communist creation.

Tremendous and strenuous work is being performed by the CPSU Central Committee, Central Committee Politburo and L.I. Brezhnev personally to strengthen the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries and intensify the interaction of the fraternal socialist states. This work is of truly world-historical significance. Its success is the guarantee of a better future for mankind for this will be the success of the great ideals of communism and peace.

* V.N. Makeyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers: "The 26th CPSU Congress on a Further Rise in the Soviet People's Well-Being"

It is impossible in a single speech to reveal in depth all aspects of the rise in Soviet people's material and cultural living standard and provide an exhaustive description of the truly far-reaching and diverse program advanced by the 26th CPSU Congress for the further growth of the people's well-being. For this reason I will dwell merely on certain urgent questions of party policy in this sphere.

The decisions of the 26th party congress are now being actively implemented and concretized in the quotas of the 11th Five-Year Plan and the plan of the current year. The USSR Council of Ministers, ministries and departments and union republic councils of ministers are performing a great deal of work on realization of the directives of the 26th CPSU Congress and the propositions and conclusions of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's report aimed at a fundamental improvement in the population's provision with food, consumer goods and the various material and spiritual benefits afforded people of a socialist society.

The USSR Council of Ministers April 1981 session analyzed comprehensively and in depth the main results of the economy's development in the first quarter and urgent tasks for fulfillment of the quotas of the first year of the 11th Five-Year Plan. The USSR Council of Ministers demanded that the USSR ministries and departments and union republic councils of ministers adopt the most decisive measures for the increased manufacture of products of all sectors of the economy, particularly for the increased production of consumer goods and an improvement in trade and consumer services.

"The invariable program requirement of all in the name of man, all for the good of man has served and continues to serve," Comrade L.I. Brezhnev emphasized in the CPSU Central Committee Report to the 26th party congress,

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"as the point of departure of a party and political approach to economics."* This political course was consistently implemented by the party in the 1970's and will remain the basis of party policy in the 1980's. It was this program requirement which objectively summoned into being the CPSU directive concerning a decisive transition to a predominantly intensive type of economic growth, an upsurge in social production efficiency and the increased quality of all our work. Briefly put, the main line of the CPSU's socioeconomic policy determined by the 26th party congress for the long term consists of the organic combination of the growth of the people's well-being and the further intensification of production.

In the formulation of this fundamental direction of the CPSU's economic strategy at the current stage and the mobilization of the communists and all working people for its implementation a tremendous part was played by the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses, party Central Committee plenums and Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, outstanding figure of our party and state, personally. The CPSU Central Committee Report to the 26th CPSU Congress, the report of Comrade N.A. Tikhonov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, the Main Directions of the USSR's Economic and Social Development for 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990 and all the material of the 26th CPSU Congress embody the continuity of party strategy, take account of the concrete conditions of the impending period and determine the tasks and main paths of their accomplishment in the 11th Five-Year Plan and the long term.

The work done by the party and the country in the 1970's to raise Soviet people's material well-being was exceptionally great, diverse and impressive. Without a realization of its scale and a precise picture of what was achieved it is impossible to conceive of the magnificence and complexity of the tasks put forward by the 26th CPSU Congress. The congress stated that our country had embarked on the 1980's with strong production and scientific-technical potential. The gross social product in 1980 was in excess of R1 trillion, and industrial output constituted R627 billion. The technical-economic indicators of the production of many types of product improved in recent years. The scientific-technical revolution is developing in breadth and in depth. Large-scale changes occurred in the location of the production forces on the country's territory. All this and, primarily, the growth of the Soviet state's economic might enabled us to fulfill in the 1970's a wide-ranging program of an upsurge in people's well-being.

The basis of the rise in our people's material and cultural living standard and the degree of satisfaction of Soviet people's requirements was the constant growth of national income. Total national income used for consumption and accumulation amounted to R437 billion (in comparable prices) in 1980. Were we to speak of the resources channeled into consumption and nonproduction construction, they increased by R135 billion in the decade and constituted R354 billion in 1980. Whereas in recent years national income increased 55 percent, the resources of national income channeled into consumption and nonproduction construction increased 62 percent. This indicates the constant preference given by the party and government to the solution of questions of a rise in Soviet people's well-being.

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 31.

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Some R32 billion were allocated merely for all-state measures for an increase in wages, pensions, benefits and so forth. The average monthly wage of workers and employees increased by a factor of almost 1.4 compared with 1970 and was in excess of R168 in 1980. Kolkhoz members' pay grew at an even higher rate.

Let us now take another indicator of the people's well-being--payments and benefits from the social consumption funds. They almost doubled and in 1980 amounted to R438 per capita. After all, it is from the social consumption funds that the public is provided with free education and medical assistance and free or concessionary passes to sanatoria and recreation centers, and they cater for the payment of benefits, pensions, student grants and paid annual leave. The minimum pensions for workers, employees and kolkhoz members were raised in the Ninth and 10th five-year plans. The material-everyday living conditions of participants in the Great Patriotic War were improved and allowances for the children of needy families were introduced. Grants for VUZ students and secondary specialized educational institution and technical school trainees were increased. Students of the first five grades acquired free textbooks.

It is possible to imagine how tangible the payments and benefits received by the public from the social consumption funds are on the basis of the following example: the annual cost of keeping a child in creches is more than R580 and in kindergarten about R500, and 80 percent of this cost here is borne by the state.

Understandably, well-being is determined not only by monetary payments alone but by the totality of material resources and services channeled into consumption. For this reason the manufacture of consumer products and the volume and selection of the commodities supplied the public are directly related to the living standard. Compared with the previous decade consumer goods' production almost doubled in the 1970's as a whole. There was a pronounced increase in the consumption of many types of commodities. For example, 9 kilos more meat, 79 more eggs, 3.4 kilos more sugar, almost 2 kilos more vegetable oil and 8 kilos more vegetables were consumed per capita in 1980 than in 1970. At the same time there was a decline in the consumption of potatoes and bread products, which testifies to an improvement in the structure of Soviet people's diet. The provision of homes with cultural-everyday durables increased. Whereas in 1970 there were 72 radio receivers and radio phonographs per 100 homes, in 1980 there were 86, the figures for television receivers were 51 and 85 respectively and refrigerators 32 and 84. The levels of urban and rural homes' provision with consumer durables were brought significantly closer here.

We have not yet achieved rational norms in the consumption of a whole number of foodstuffs and nonfood items, it is true, and much work needs to be done to ensure that their consumption approximate such norms. But despite all this, the adduced figures testify to considerable improvements in Soviet people's living conditions and a marked rise in their material well-being.

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We cannot, of course, in speaking of our social achievements fail to mention the gigantic proportions which housing construction has assumed in our country. Apartment houses were built in the 1970's whose area is greater than that of all urban housing at the start of the 1960's. This is a convincing fact of the constant concern of our party and state for Soviet people.

For an integral, synthesized characterization of the people's material living standard we use the real income per capita indicator, that is, the population's total receipts and services both in the form of wages and via the social consumption funds. Real income per capita increased almost 50 percent in the Ninth and 10th five-year plans. This means that Soviet man has begun to eat and dress considerably better and avail himself of better medical and cultural services than 10 years ago. Such are some of the results of the work which the party has performed to raise Soviet people's well-being.

The people's well-being is a category of general social meaning and significance. The changes in the level of the people's well-being are being accompanied by shifts in the social and class structure of society and the standard of the population's culture and education.

In the past decade the Soviet working class became not simply the most populous class, but, which is most important, its ideological-political maturity, education and vocational skills increased. Three-fourths of workers now have secondary (complete or incomplete) and higher education. The number of kolkhoz members with such education is increasing constantly. There is an ever increasing number of workers in the countryside whose labor is connected with the use of the latest equipment and technology. There has been a considerable increase in the numbers of the Soviet intelligentsia--people of high education and culture who are boundlessly devoted to the party's cause.

Summing up the work to raise Soviet people's well-being, Comrade L.I. Brezhnev said: "The CPSU Central Committee sees as the sociopolitical meaning of these results the fact that the entire system of social relations and our socialist way of life continued to improve on the basis of the steady upsurge of the economy."* The 26th CPSU Congress provided an in-depth and objective characterization of the country's soecioeconomic development in the last decade. Evaluating the path that had been trodden, the congress observed that there were also many difficulties in this period brought about both by objective and subjective factors.

Of the last 5 years, only 2 were more or less favorable in terms of weather conditions. A negative influence on our economic ddvelopment was exerted by the deterioration in world economic conditions and the steep jumps in world prices. The growth of the people's well-being was held back by the considerable expenditure which our country was forced to bear owing to the arms race unleashed by imperialism and the braking of the process of the relaxation of international tension.

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 36.

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Among the reasons why we did not succeed in reaching all the frontiers charted by the 10th Five-Year Plan the congress cited the loose ends in planning and management, the insufficient exactingness of a number of party bodies and managers, the still frequent instances of breaches of discipline and manifestations of remiss management. But perhaps the main thing is, as Comrade L.I. Brezhnev observed in the CPSU Central Committee Report to the 26th party congress, that the force of inertia, traditions and the habits which took shape at the time when it was not so much the qualitative as the quantitative aspect of matters which was of paramount importance have yet to be fully overcome.

In outlining the tasks of the further development of the country's economy and the people's increased material well-being the party takes into consideration the particular features of the present stage of the 5-year period and the 1980's as a whole. In the country's socioeconomic development in the long term a number of factors will appear which will complicate the accomplishment of the tasks outlined by the 26th CPSU Congress in the sphere of a rise in the people's well-being. Among such factors we should put primarily the impending decline in the growth of labor resources. This decline, which has been brought about to a considerable extent by distant consequences of the Great Patriotic War, will be, as demographers put it, a "second echo of the war," as it were.

The decline in the increase in labor resources will complicate the development of the entire economy. However, it will particularly affect the labor-intensive works, trade, consumer services and sectors of the nonproduction sphere, that is, health care and culture, where the mechanization of labor is either complicated or practically impossible. This will be a serious factor holding back the growth of prosperity and limiting the possibilities of an improvement in public services.

In connection with the intensive development of the natural resources of the East and the North of the country there will be a sharp increase in expenditure on the extraction of raw material and energy generation. Whereas 20 years ago it was necessary to spend R2 of capital investments for the additional production of R1 of raw material, we currently need to spend approximately R4 and in the future will have to spend R5-6. Even maintaining the volume of the recovery and processing of raw material which has been achieved requires ever increasing capital investments. And this is, naturally, money which could have been spent on a rise in our people's material and cultural living standard.

There will be an appreciable increase in the 11th and 12th five-year plans in expenditure on protection of the natural environment. The scale of this expenditure is truly enormous. In the 10th Five-Year Plan state capital investments in measures for nature conservation and the rational use of natural resources were in excess of R9 billion, having increased by a factor of 1.5 compared with the Ninth Five-Year Plan. This expenditure will undoubtedly determine our living conditions and habitat, so to speak.

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We cannot live without clean air and without water that has not been poisoned by industrial waste. Therefore this expenditure is in a certain sense also an element of prosperity, despite not bringing us more food, clothing or shelter.

The country has a large number of old enterprises in need of fundamental modernization, particularly in the sectors of food, flour-milling and light industry. Considerable resources will have to be spent on the construction and modernization of motor roads and railroads and the development of communications and other elements of the production and social infrastructure. All these are also additional limitations on the resources which could have been channeled into a direct increase in the production of food and commodities, services and the construction of housing, stores and cultural centers.

The particular features of the foreign policy situation in which our country and the fraternal socialist countries are operating and the aggressive trends in the policy of reactionary circles, primarily American imperialism, forcing us to bear a heavy burden of defense spending, are also not facilitating our accomplishment of the tasks of a rise in the people's well-being. But a vitally important condition of our people's well-being is peace. Soviet people understand this full well and wholeheartedly support the party's policy of strengthening the country's defense might and its valorous armed forces.

Thus, evaluating realistically and objectively, as the great Lenin taught, both the tremendous possibilities of our economy and the influence of existing and impending difficulties, the 26th party congress determined the main tasks of socioeconomic development and the main ways to accomplish them. The party has put forward as the main task of the 11th Five-Year Plan, as you know, a further rise in Soviet people's well-being. The basis of this will be the steady progressive development of the national economy, an acceleration of scientific-technical progress and the utmost intensification and the increased efficiency of social production.

A wide-ranging program of a further upsurge of the Soviet people's well-being whose realization will create even more favorable conditions for the all-around development of the personality is outlined for the 11th Five-Year Plan and the 1980's as a whole. Even more will be done to strengthen Soviet people's health and improve their recreation and to develop education, science and culture and everything that constitutes our socialist way of life.

The total amount of national income used for consumption and accumulation--the main source of the growth of Soviet people's material well-being--is to have increased by a factor of 1.4 by 1990 as a minimum. It is planned here that the consumption fund's proportion of the national income will be in excess of 77 percent by 1985. The average monthly wage of workers and employees will increase 13-16 percent in the 11th Five-Year Plan and amount to R190-195. Kolkhoz members' income from public farming will increase 20-22 percent. As a whole it is planned to allocate R16 billion for centralized measures to increase wages and other payments and benefits to the population in the 11th Five-Year Plan.

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The social consumption funds will grow appreciably. They will have amounted to R138 billion by 1985. Minimum retirement and disability pensions for workers, employees and kolkhoz members will be increased and other measures will also be implemented for a further improvement in the population's social security. As a whole real income per capita will grow 16-18 percent in the 11th Five-Year Plan. Despite the effect of all the complicating factors which we have mentioned, this is practically the same increase in real income as we had under the more favorable conditions of the 10th Five-Year Plan.

For the purpose of an improvement in the work and domestic conditions of women, primarily those with children, a new wide-ranging system of measures will be implemented in the 11th Five-Year Plan and subsequent years. There will be a considerable increase in state assistance to families with children and newlyweds. A special CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree was adopted on these questions, as is known.

What is the main thrust of this decree? It is primarily to create conditions facilitating the birth and raising of children in Soviet families. There will be increased appropriations for the further development of the network of children's preschool establishments. More than R9 billion will be allocated as a whole in the 11th Five-Year Plan alone for measures to boost state assistance to families with children.

A most important feature of the 11th Five-Year Plan is that, in accordance with the Main Directions of the country's economic and social development adopted by the 26th party congress, the rate of growth of the production of consumer goods (industry's group "B" sectors) will outpace the rate of growth of the production of producer goods (group "A" sectors) in 1981-1985. I would recall that in previous 5-year plans the sectors producing producer goods were developed more rapidly than the sectors manufacturing consumer products. The fact that under the present very complex conditions a course has been set toward the accelerated development of the group "B" sectors points to the tremendous attention which the party, its Central Committee and Comrade L.I. Brezhnev personally are paying to questions of a rise in Soviet people's well-being.

As emphatically as could be the party and its 26th congress placed on the agenda the task of a fundamental improvement in the public's provision with food and also industrial consumer goods. The urgency of these questions is increased by the fact that in the last decade the rapid economic growth brought about a high rate of increase in the population's monetary income. This is an objective regularity of our economic development and the increased material living standard of the members of the socialist society. At the same time the growth of nominal monetary income has not always been underpinned in due measure by the corresponding development of the production of consumer products. We experienced a considerable shortfall in various consumer products in the 10th Five-Year Plan, and the actual growth rate of industry's group "B" sectors proved lower than that scheduled by the 5-year plan. The production of consumer goods constituting the bulk of commodity turnover--food products, clothing, footwear and cloth--increased at a pace slower than envisaged by the 5-year plan quotas.

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As Comrade L.I. Brezhnev has emphasized repeatedly, the problem of providing the population with food commodities is very acute. Together with the significant overall growth of the consumption of the main food products in the country many areas are still experiencing difficulties with respect to supplying the population with food, primarily meat and meat products. This is attested by, inter alia, working people's letters to the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers.

For a radical solution of the problem of the uninterrupted provision of the population with food products the 26th CPSU Congress recognized the need to draw up a special food program. Fulfillment of this program will make it possible to develop more concertedly all the sectors engaged in the production, storage and processing of food and also trade. Almost one-third of total capital investments in the economy is allocated for the development and streamlining of the agrarian-industrial complex in the new 5-year plan.

The basis of the development and implementation of the food program is a further upsurge of agriculture. There will be an appreciable expansion of the production of meat and other animal husbandry products here, which will afford us an opportunity of drawing considerably closer to the level of their rational consumption norms.

It should, however, be said that even the present volume of agricultural production would permit us to appreciably raise the level of consumption of its main products were there no losses. In the 10th Five-Year Plan, for example, the average annual per capita consumption of vegetables and fruit increased at a considerably slower pace than their production. Consequently, it is necessary not only to build up the production of agricultural products but also sharply improve their transportation, storage and processing. It is planned to allocate R15 billion of capital investments for this purpose in the 11th Five-Year Plan or 1.6 times more than in the past 5-year plan. Processing industry capacity will be developed particularly strongly here. A special union-republic Ministry of Fruit and Vegetable Industry has been created whose main task will be the organization of work on an increase in the production of fruit and vegetable products.

The subsidiary farms of the population and also industrial enterprises have great possibilities in an improvement in the population's supply with meat, milk and certain other agricultural products. The potential of the subsidiary farms in the solution of the food problem is far from exhausted, and it is the task of the party organizations, ministries and departments and enterprise managers to do everything for the development of this important factor of the strengthening of the country's agrarian-industrial complex.

It is intended in the 11th Five-Year Plan to increase the production of meat, dairy and other food products on the basis of an upsurge in agriculture. In the 5-year plan as a whole the production of food industry sector products will increase 23-26 percent, that is, an average annual increase of 4.25-4.7 percent.

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In the party's efforts for an upsurge in Soviet people's well-being paramount significance is attached to expanding the production and improving the quality of industrial consumer goods and developing the services sphere. Great attention was paid to these questions at the 26th party congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums.

As Comrade L.I. Brezhnev emphasized, the cardinal solution of the problem of supplying the population with industrial commodities is to set up the really modern production of consumer commodities and public services corresponding to the people's requirements. For this purpose it is intended in the 11th Five-Year Plan to implement a set of important measures and draw up and implement a program of the development of consumer goods' production.

It is planned to increase light industry production 18-20 percent. This sector is furnished with modern equipment; supplies to it of raw material, intermediate products and dyes will be improved. Taut quotas have been determined for the construction of new and modernization and retooling of operating light industry enterprises.

A big role in the increase in consumer goods' production is assigned heavy industry sectors, where more than 50 percent of all nonfood consumer products is produced. It is intended in the 5-year plan to increase the manufacture of cultural-everyday commodities and home appliances by a factor of 1.4. And it is extremely important that enterprises which are technically the most modern and which have highly skilled personnel--and these are primarily heavy industry and engineering enterprises--be in the vanguard of the accomplishment of the tasks set by the 26th CPSU Congress.

The provision of municipal-consumer service and local industry enterprises with equipment will be increased considerably in the 11th Five-Year Plan. It is planned to extend the training of skilled personnel for these sectors.

Fulfillment of the set tasks will require considerable efforts from the union ministries and departments and union republic councils of ministers. The party organizations must mobilize all communists and all the working people for a decisive improvement in the use of manpower, equipment, raw material and intermediate products and all available forces and resources. As Comrade L.I. Brezhnev emphasized, it is necessary to fundamentally improve the style and methods of leadership of the work of enterprises and organizations manufacturing consumer goods and make the maximum use of all available resources and potential.

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers regularly examine questions of an increase in the production of consumer goods, particularly those in short supply on the market. Supplementary quotas are being determined for USSR ministries and departments and union republic councils of ministers for the production of commodities in higher-than-usual demand.

The work that has been done has already produced certain results. In 1980 the public was sold R4.4 billion of goods over and above the basic plan

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compared with the supplementary quota of R2.8 billion. But this cannot reassure us in the least. Considerably more, better and more efficient work needs to be done. The 26th party congress called for this from us. And it is first of all necessary to do away with the shortcomings in the work of the ministries and departments responsible for the manufacture of consumer goods and in the trade in these goods. There are still many such shortcomings, unfortunately.

Many enterprises failed to cope with the quotas of the 1980 plan and of the 10th Five-Year Plan as a whole even for consumer goods' manufacture. As a consequence, the trade network was supplied with less of basic commodities than planned and trade's supply with commodity stocks declined. As of 1 January 1981 they were below the norm in retail trade, which cannot fail to disturb us. Thus stocks of cotton cloth, linen underwear, stocking-hosiery items, radio goods and certain others were considerably below the norm. The plan and supplementary quotas were not fulfilled with respect to all goods in mass demand in 1980. Nor have we yet managed to do away with many of these shortcomings in 1981 either, unfortunately. Trade's requests for a number of goods in mass demand are not yet being satisfied.

L.I. Brezhnev has repeatedly expressed the party Central Committee's concern at the increasing interruptions in the trade in the simplest medicines, soap, washing powders, yarn, needles, children's clothing and certain other commodities. The 26th party congress and the CPSU Central Committee have set the USSR ministries and departments and union republic councils of ministers the important task of putting an end to the strained situation that has been created in the provision of the population with certain commodities in daily and mass demand.

The production of industrial consumer goods is growing from year to year. But the need therefor is growing also, and increased demands are being made on the quality and selection of the goods. Consumer demand is overtaking what industry is supplying, and this, frankly speaking, is giving rise to a shortage of certain commodities, particularly those in mass demand.

Take, for example, the work of light industry. A considerable proportion of the letters to the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers concerns the shortage of cotton cloth, underwear for children and adults, socks, leggings and bed linen. The working people ask why if we cultivate a great deal of cotton there is shortage of cotton cloth and cotton products? There was indeed in 1980 somewhat of a decline in the sale of cotton cloth to the public. The production and sale of garments and knitwear increased here. Considering the high demand for cotton cloth, an increase in the sale thereof of more than 8 percent compared with 1980 is scheduled for 1981.

How has the shortage of cotton cloth come about? The main reason, of course, is the incomplete use of the resources and potential of light industry. The workers of this sector themselves, engineers, chemists and construction workers are to blame here. Judge for yourselves. Capacity for 500 million square meters of cloth was underinstalled in cotton industry in the last 5-year

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plan. The reasons for this were prolongation of the specified times of construction and underfulfillment of the plan for the introduction of new spindles and looms. Further, the average use of capacity for the production of cotton cloth controlled by the USSR Ministry of Light Industry was 88 percent in 1980. The extent of the use of capacity can and must be higher than this indicator, not to mention the fact that it was considerably below the sectorial average even in a number of republics. It has been calculated that if the capacity available in the union republics were used at the sectorial average level, it would be possible to produce an additional 200 million-plus square meters of cloth.

The USSR Ministry of Chemical Industry, which failed to supply synthetic fibers and yarn in the necessary quantities, also "assisted" the USSR Ministry of Light Industry in the creation of the cloth shortage.

These are just a few facts which help us get an idea of the reason for the cloth shortage. Despite the conditional nature of the adduced calculations, it can be seen what unutilized potential our light industry possesses and what big tasks confront the collectives of its enterprises and also the engineers, chemical workers, construction workers and the corresponding party organizations.

Local industry is also called on to play a big part in providing the population with goods in daily demand. Enterprises of republic and local jurisdiction are obliged, for example, to fully satisfy the need of the population of the republics for the simplest small-scale commodities such as school and writing accessories, kitchen utensils, pottery products and so forth. However, even today there are not enough of such very simple products on sale. A reason for this is the fact that local industry enterprises are attempting to produce instead of simple commodities more intricate and costly products not from local but allocated raw material. Certain local industry enterprises, for example, have organized the production of motor vehicle-type truck cranes and metal-cutting and forging-pressing equipment. This is probably necessary. But a reduction in the production of cultural-everyday commodities and various utensils and implements must not be permitted here. The leaders of local industry and the consumer cooperatives must engage most seriously in an increase in the production of the simplest commodities, particularly those manufactured from local raw material and production waste. The thorough and purposeful work of the party organizations is needed more than ever in the solution of these questions.

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers have recently been paying special attention to an improvement in trade services for the population. A session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in April 1981 addressed by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev was devoted to questions of an improvement in trade.

The removal of interruptions in the sale of goods in daily and mass demand undoubtedly depends primarily on an increase in their production. However, many questions would not be as acute if our trade also operated more assertively. The trading organizations' request for 1981 was not catered for in respect of cloth from natural silk and staple fiber for clothing, decorative

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cloth and artificial fur. At the same time cloth from acetate rayon and synthetic silk is piling up in large quantities in trade. Demand for footwear is not being satisfied. Yet R250 million of unmarketable and old footwear has piled up in trade. Furthermore, the trading organizations have rejected the purchase of a large quantity of footwear owing to its unsatisfactory selection and quality.

Such is yet a further ingredient of the shortage on whose removal industrial and trade workers must work jointly.

Trade is called on to play more assertively the part of main client of industry and increase the demands made on the quality and selection of consumer goods. At the same time it is necessary to adopt urgent measures to improve the location of commodity resources on the country's territory, develop the network of stores and improve their operating schedule. The solution of these questions will largely depend on the persistence of the republic and oblast party organizations, union republic councils of ministers and krayispolkoms and oblispolkoms.

Work is now under way in the USSR Council of Ministers on fulfillment of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress on the preparation of decrees determining concrete tasks for an increase in the 11th Five-Year Plan in the production of goods in daily and mass demand and cultural-domestic commodities and home appliances. These decrees will be integral components of the program being drawn up for an increase in the production of industrial consumer goods.

The Soviet people's well-being is a wide-ranging concept. It is by no means exhausted, despite the importance of these questions, merely by provision of the population with a sufficiency of food products, clothing, footwear, shelter and consumer durables. As the society of mature socialism develops, increasingly great significance is attached to catering for the full-fledged recreation and the increased cultural and educational level of Soviet people and an improvement in medical services for them.

Take, for example, book publishing. In the development of the socialist society the book is a most important commodity in mass demand and a source of the satisfaction of Soviet people's ever growing spiritual requirements.

Some 1.8 billion books and brochures are now published annually in the country. Nonetheless, there is still a shortage of books. The entire seriousness of the problem of catering for the demand for many types of literature is well known. The work of the publishing houses, book-trade organizations and book stores is constantly within the sights of the party authorities; they themselves frequently have to participate in the distribution of the subscription publications and the most popular books allocated the republic, oblast or city.

The current situation is disturbing to the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers. L.I. Brezhnev spoke with great concern at the 26th party congress of the fact that buying an interesting book is sometimes difficult.

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The congress recognized the need to provide for the further development of publishing and satisfy more fully the public's printed product needs. As in the 10th Five-Year Plan also, the entire increase in paper will be channeled into the publication of fiction and poetry and children's literature, the proportion of which in total book publication will increase even further. The most popular works will be published in editions running into the millions.

The overall increase in the publication of literature is very impressive. But calculations show that even this is insufficient to fully satisfy demand.

The main reason for the impossibility as yet of ensuring satisfaction of the demand for literature in full is the shortage of paper owing to the slowing of the rate of development of the paper industry. For this reason we ask that the leaders of the party organizations of the oblasts where timber is procured and where pulp and paper industry enterprises are located contribute to an increase in the publication of literature in the country by establishing strict supervision of the fulfillment of the plans for the shipment of felled timber and the production of pulp and paper, putting the haulage of timber and paper under special surveillance.

It is also necessary to increase the attention paid to economies in paper. Much is being done in this respect: the size of books and many journals has been limited, specifications concerning the design of the printed product have been tightened and the waste paper norms at the printer's have been revised. On a countrywide scale this is releasing thousands of tons of paper. A great paper saving is being produced, for example, by the transition of the general educational school to the free use of textbooks. We are saving many thousands of tons of paper as a result of the creation of school textbook collections.

The commission trade in books, the purchase of books from the public and their subsequent sale via the book stores are assuming increasingly large proportions.

The union republic Communist Party central committees and councils of ministers must pay more attention to the development of the printing industry, the training of personnel for this sector and the creation of good conditions for the work and social life of printing workers. Recently the Azerbaijan, Lithuanian and Estonian Communist Party central committees and councils of ministers adopted decisions on an expansion of the physical plant of book publishing and printing. And the attention to the printers' work and social conditions on the part of the local party authorities and assistance to the state committees for publishing houses, printing plants and book trade and enterprises in the solution of questions of the social development of the collectives will undoubtedly be positively reflected in an expansion of book publication.

A few words about an improvement in medical assistance for the population. The 10th Five-Year Plan for the introduction of hospitals and clinics was fulfilled for the country as a whole. But in certain union republics the plans for the introduction of new hospitals thanks to state capital investments

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were underfulfilled; considerable resources allocated by the state for this purpose were not fully assimilated. It is absolutely necessary to rectify this situation.

As in previous years, the communist unpaid Saturday work day in April 1981 was conducted successfully. In accordance with good tradition, the considerable resources derived from the voluntary Saturdays are annually channeled into the construction of medical establishments. Leading scientific medical centers have been and are being built on the basis of these resources: oncological and cardiological hospitals, a mother and child care hospital and also a large number of children's hospitals, clinics and obstetric establishments. However, in certain instances the construction of health care establishments thanks to the resources derived on the voluntary Saturdays is not being undertaken quickly enough. For example, a start was made on the construction of a hospital building for 120 beds in Kirovograd (Ukrainian SSR) in 1977 and was to have been completed in 1979. But as of the start of 1981 it was only 36 percent ready. The construction of a hospital for 500 beds in Chita which was begun in 1976 should have been completed in 1980. Yet this construction is being carried out so slowly that if decisive measures are not taken to speed it up, the introduction of the hospital will not be possible before 1990.

The party organizations need, I believe, to step up supervision of the construction of health service facilities.

The 26th CPSU Congress set the health care authorities big tasks for an improvement in the organization of the activity of the outpatient-general health clinic establishments and the introduction of new forms and methods of preventive, diagnostic and therapeutic work. The activity of the outpatient-general health clinic establishments in each city must be organized such as to ensure medical assistance in accordance with the population's requirements and the operating schedule of enterprises, organizations and establishments. It is also necessary to raise the level of first aid and emergency medical assistance. Supervision of the health care authorities' implementation of these measures and also active assistance to them on the part of the local party authorities are essential.

Measures have been implemented in recent years to improve the health care establishments' provision with the primary level of medical personnel and its retention in these important areas of work. However, questions of providing medical workers with living space, particularly in the countryside, are not yet being tackled satisfactorily. Lack of housing is a principal cause of the turnover of medical personnel. Over 16,000 doctors--medical institute graduates--are sent annually to health care establishments rendering medical assistance to the inhabitants of rural areas. After the obligatory 3 years of service, many of them leave the republics in connection with the lack of suitable housing-everyday and work conditions.

The local party and soviet authorities should approach the solution of the very important question of medical services for the population with the measure of responsibility required of all of us by the 26th party congress.

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The social program outlined by the 26th CPSU Congress provides for the comprehensive and concerted development of all aspects of the life of society and a rise in both the material and spiritual living standard of Soviet people. And in this ongoing process an increasingly active part is being played by the party's ideological work and the formation in Soviet people, particularly the younger generation, of a sense of public duty and a communist world outlook.

While attaching such great importance to a rise in the people's well-being the party is at the same time actively combating individual manifestations of a consumerist mentality, the thoughtless following of Western trends and an aspiration to personal gain, particularly at the expense of society.

Concrete concern for the concrete man and his needs and requirements--this is, as Comrade L.I. Brezhnev emphasized, the begining and end of our economic policy. The great meaning of the activity of the Lenin Party is that it has always fought and worked in the name of a better life for and the happiness of the people of labor.

The program of the country's socioeconomic development outlined by the 26th CPSU Congress for the 11th Five-Year Plan and the period through 1990 reflects the people's fundamental, vital interests. Fulfillment of the congress' directives for the future and, primarily, the unconditional fulfillment of the 11th Five-Year Plan quotas have now been put at the center of all efforts of the party and the country. Our social optimism is based on the firm conviction that under the wise leadership of the Lenin Party our country's working people will honorably fulfill the magnificent plans of the historic 26th CPSU Congress.

* G.E. Marchuk, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology: "Problem of the Acceleration of Scientific-Technical Progress"

Considerable successes were scored in the last decade in the development of fundamental and applied scientific research and a rise in the technical level of production. Soviet science currently occupies leading positions in many of the most important areas. Such modern sectors as atomic engineering, space technology, electronics and microelectronics industry, laser technology and the production of artificial diamonds and other synthetic materials have been created on the basis of its achievements.

The scale of the use of scientific-technical achievements in the national economy has grown. The manufacture of approximately 17,500 new types of machinery, equipment, instruments and materials was assimilated in the 10th Five-Year Plan compared with 16,500 in the Ninth. Intensive factors, among which scientific-technical progress plays a decisive part, are responsible for three-fourths of the increase in labor productivity in the national economy. This means, as emphasized at the 26th party congress, that the investments in science and new technology are a most effective condition of an increase in social production efficiency and the intensification of the economy.

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An analysis of the development of scientific-technical progress shows that currently it is no longer sufficient to control merely the sphere of scientific research and the development and assimilation ofnew technology, it is also necessary to contribute to its speediest introduction in series production. The pace of scientific-technical progress is frequently held back currently not by a lack of promising ideas, discoveries and inventions but by their slow mass introduction.

The coming decade, and this must be emphasized, will be a stage of the extensive practical implementation of fundamental results of scientific research. These years will be a period of the mass introduction of the most significant scientific achievements which might contribute to the accomplishment of key national economic tasks and a fundamental change in production. In the 1980's the country will have to take a new step forward in combining the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution with the advantages of socialism.

The evolved practice of the control of scientific-technical progress is leading to the theoretical and experimental research, planning and design developments, the creation of new types of equipment and technology and their honing and introduction in production being undertaken by organizations of different sectors and spheres of activity. The entire "science-production" cycle is thereby being split into a number of corresponding independent stages, each of which has its own list of tasks and its planning, financing and management procedure. Whence the most appreciable delays in the solution of scientific-technical problems arise, as a rule, upon the transfer of the results of completed developments from one stage to another. It is at this moment that it is discovered that the next stage of the cycle cannot be started owing to the inadequate preparation of the executants and production for assimilation of the new equipment and technology, the lack of component products and materials and many other reasons engendered by the uncomprehensive solution of large-scale intersectorial problems. It needs to be considered here that frequently up to 80-100 organizations belonging to various ministries and departments participate in the development of major problems.

Currently an effective means which could provide for the concerted activity of different elements of the science-production complex is the program-goal method of planning, whose chief merit is a precise orientation toward end results.

The specific practical thrust of scientific developments is organizationally embodied in comprehensive scientific-technical programs. Such a program represents a coordinating mechanism which, proceeding from the planned national economic end result, coordinates the efforts of all components, from research through series production. The comprehensive programs make it possible to concentrate scientific forces and material and financial resources on the achievement of the present end results in industry, agriculture and consumer goods' production.

For 1981-1985 the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, USSR Gosplan and USSR Academy of Sciences have drawn up and confirmed 160 programs, among which are 38 goal-oriented comprehensive programs for the realization of the

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most significant scientific-technical achievements, and 122 programs are geared to the solution of problems of national economic importance and connected with the creation of fundamentally new types of equipment and technology and their realization in practice and also with the development of scientific research and technical developments with respect to the most promising areas of science and technology.

Thus for the first time in planning practice comprehensive goal-oriented scientific-technical programs encompassing the entire cycle--from scientific developments through the practical realization of results, including the series production of new products--will be introduced in the 11th Five-Year Plan. The transition to the new stage of program-goal planning is not a mechanical transformation of the current system of plans but a qualitatively new form of organization and management making it possible to raise the purposefulness of the work of the scientific research, design and planning-engineering organizations and to accelerate the honing of completed research and developments to the point of series production.

Comprehensive plans of the acceleration of scientific-technical progress have been drawn up and are being implemented in many regions of our country. The increased attention to the regional aspects of the development of science and technology has been brought about by life itself. It is now clear that the comprehensive development of the natural wealth in a region and the efficient use of equipment and material and labor resources are tasks whose accomplishment cannot be packed solely into the framework of the sectorial principle of management and organization. A comprehensive scientifically substantiated approach which takes fuller account of the specific features and interests of the development of the production forces of this region or the other is essential.

The regional scientific-technical programs are aimed at providing production with scientific developments which take account of local social, economic and natural-climatic conditions. It is essential here to make extensive use of the territorial cooperation of science and production and the coordination of academic, VUZ and sectorial science. Perfection of the regional organization of scientific-technical potential contains great possibilities of the increased efficiency of the entire national economy.

The most efficient results are achieved when the regional and sectorial plans are organically combined with the comprehensive scientific-technical programs. Their unity will make it possible to link scientific research and planning-design work more closely with production and make fuller use of the advantages of the socialist system of management.

As is known, realization of the tasks of scientific-technical progress depends to a certain extent on the skills, education and responsibility of the personnel and its attitude toward work. Modern production perceives more acutely than before the significance and complexity of the human factor. And if in some area the human factor proves less reliable than the equipment, there has to be manifold compensation for these losses. For this reason a balance between the creative capabilities and responsibility of present-day workers and

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the potential afforded them by production is so important now. Only in the event of their concertedness and harmony does scientific-technical progress produce the maximum results.

The 26th CPSU Congress valued highly the role of science in Soviet society. "No one has to be convinced of the great significance of science," the CPSU Central Committee Report to the 26th party congress says. "The party of communists proceeds from the fact that building the new society without science is simply inconceivable."* This evaluation inspires all Soviet scientists and at the same time makes much incumbent upon them.

* A.G. Yegorov, director of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism: "The 26th CPSU Congress' Creative Contribution to the Development of the Theory and Practice of Scientific Communism"

I

There are events in the life of peoples and the activity of the communist parties which reveal as if in focus the main trends of social development and the prospects of social progress. The 26th CPSU Congress was among precisely such events. It collated the experience of the Soviet people's creative activity in fulfillment of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and revealed the international significance of the great achievements of the Soviet Union's working people. It made a new contribution to the analysis of the world revolutionary process, armed the communists and all working people with a clear understanding of the tasks of the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism and enriched Marxism-Leninism with new conclusions.

As observed in many documents of the fraternal communist parties and the foreign press, the 26th CPSU Congress is of tremendous international significance and is having a multifaceted impact on the development of the world revolutionary process and relations between peoples. Even socialism's enemies are forced to admit that the humanistic import and optimism of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the confident nature of our party's policy are inspiring all the world's working people and increasing the magnetic force of real socialism on all continents.

The world-historical significance of the 26th CPSU Congress is determined by the role performed by the USSR in the world arena, the contribution which the Soviet people are making to the social progress of all mankind and the authority which the CPSU enjoys among communists and all the world's revolutionary forces.

"In fact...the appearance of our motherland at the end of the 20th century and on the threshold of the third millennium," Comrade L.I. Brezhnev said at the congress, "will largely depend on what we decide at this time."** This is a very important, fundamental proposition. After all, in our era scientific communism is not only an ideal and the highest goal to which the working class and broad people's masses aspire and not only a theory affording the

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 42.
**Ibid., p 79.

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Marxist-Leninist parties the possibility of erecting the magnificent edifice of a new society in accordance with plans verified by science. Scientific communism in our day is the visible practice of millions and millions of people building a new life.

Increasingly new problems arise and new tasks are advanced in the process of socialist and communist building, and this requires a creative approach both to the study of life from the standpoints of Marxism-Leninism and to Marxist-Leninist theory itself and a consideration of the collective experience of the masses and their creative activity.

The exceptional significance which our party attaches to the development of Marxist-Leninist science as its instrument of theory was corroborated at the 26th CPSU Congress both in the analysis of what had been done by Soviet social scientists since the previous congress—an objective, strict and benevolent analysis oriented toward the development of the cardinal problems of the present day—and in the determination of the key problems of social science for the future. And, of course, in the formulation of the most important question of changes and additions to the party Program with regard for an interpretation of the great experience of socialist and communist creation in the USSR accumulated over 20 years and also the new phenomena and processes in the international arena based on Marxist-Leninist methodology.

In speaking of the contribution of the 26th CPSU Congress to Marxist-Leninist methodology it has to be emphasized that the single line of ascent of the Soviet country's development in all periods of its life and the continuity of the party's Leninist policy appear distinctly in the history of the CPSU. And at the same time every one of our party congresses marks a new level of the society's progressive development and, accordingly, a new level in the development of Marxist-Leninist science.

If we examine from this viewpoint the documents of the 26th party congress and primarily the CPSU Central Committee Report delivered by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, it will be clear that the development of Marxist-Leninist science is not confined here to individual questions, each of which is very important both theoretically and practically, be they questions of the country's domestic life or international relations and the world revolutionary process. The creative development of Marxism-Leninism as a whole and in the unity of its theory and method is provided here.

The 26th CPSU Congress teaches us the in-depth, skillful application of Marxist-Leninist methodology to the cognition of new phenomena and its enrichment on the basis of the new historical experience of our country and the entire socialist community. It is a question, of course, of the collation not only of positive experience. As indicated in the CPSU Central Committee Report to the 26th party congress, the history of world socialism also knows of difficult, crisis moments which also have to be taken into consideration.

The all-conquering force of Marxism-Leninism also consists of the fact that, not confining itself to the experience of certain countries, it affords an opportunity for the in-depth comprehension of the dialectics of the entire modern era and its main features and the struggle of the trends of different

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social-class forces and affords an opportunity for separating the positive and the negative in social life and also taking account of the concrete-historical, national singularities in the manifestation of the common regularities of the building of a new life and revealing the essence of these regularities, outside of and beyond which it is impossible to comprehend the concrete phenomena and processes in certain socialist countries.

The consistently implemented historical method, this most important requirement of Marxist-Leninist methodology, forms the basis of all the main conclusions of the 26th CPSU Congress, helping us not only to correctly evaluate the past but also outline the prospects of the country's further development and determine the leading trends of the social process as a whole.

Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's report mentions the continuity of the socioeconomic strategy of the 24th, 25th and 26th congresses of our party--congresses of the period of developed socialism--reveals the inspiring prospects of the country's socioeconomic development in 1981-1985 and the period through 1990, determines the main tasks which have to be tackled and the ways to accomplish them and shows the world-historical significance of the problems which are being and will be tackled by our party and our people.

This means that in formulating its social and economic strategy the CPSU always determines the main stages of progress, the intrinsic connection between them and the tasks which are tackled at each of these stages and the methods of their accomplishment in order, by relying on accumulated experience, to create the conditions and prerequisites for the next twist to the spiral of ongoing development. "Looking 5, 10 years ahead today," Comrade L.I. Brezhnev said at the 26th party congress, "we cannot forget that it is in these years that the national economic structure will be laid and created with which the country will embark on the 21st century. It should embody the main features and ideals of the new society, be in the vanguard of progress and personify the integration of science and production and the indestructible alliance of creative thought and creative labor."*

In general, progressive movement--and this was shown strikingly in Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's report--is impossible without continuity of the specific goals, means and methods of the solution of economic, social, political and all other problems. However, progressive development--and this also was strikingly revealed in the report--enriches and concretizes them with reference to the new conditions and the requirements and possibilities of social life.

This is why questions of the material-technical base, planning and management of the economy, the growth of the working people's well-being, development of the social-class structure and national relations, the formation of the new man, development of the political system and intraparty life and so forth were raised at the 24th, 25th and 26th congresses of our party. But each time they appeared with new facets and in the light of the growing possibilities

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 44.

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and new factors of scientific-technical, economic and social progress. And the scientific concept of the material-technical base of communism and the economic-political concept of the planning and control of social processes thereby develop and all other problems are extended, with regard for material, political, moral and all other aspects, that is, comprehensively, furthermore, from congress to congress.

Comprehensiveness is also a most important principle of Marxist-Leninist methodology, which has acquired particular significance under the conditions of mature socialism--a society whose characteristic feature is the intregity and harmonious development of all its aspects, although not without contradictions of a nonantagonistic nature.

Comrade L.I. Brezhnev emphasized particularly forcefully in the CPSU Central Committee Report to the 26th party congress that "the interconnection of the progress of the economy with the sociopolitical and spiritual progress of society is becoming increasingly close under the conditions of mature socialism."* Not confining himself to this conclusion, he went on to show objectively and concretely what significance is attached to the balanced growth of all sectors of the economy, the increased interrelations between the basis and superstructure, the development of the territorial-production complexes and the economic relations of the kolkhozes among themselves and with industry within the framework of the country's single national economic complex, the rapprochement of the classes and social groups in the process of communist building and so forth. Thus the integrity, unity and interconnection of all social relations are strengthened simultaneously with the comprehensive development of the economy under the conditions of mature socialism.

However, the comprehensiveness, integrity or, as it is now customary to say, the systemic nature of social development under the conditions of developed socialism by no means signifies that all elements of our social system are developing at an equal pace. There are system-forming elements which determine the action of all the others and ensure intensive factors of growth. They are developing more rapidly than others. And for this reason it is very important to find in the chain of phenomena, as V.I. Lenin taught, "at each particular moment the special link" which "needs to be grasped with all our powers in order to maintain the entire chain and make firm preparations for the transfer to the next link...."** And this central link may only be ascertained on the basis of an in-depth analysis of social phenomena with Marxist-Leninist science as the guide. It is this that Lenin had in mind when he said that "for us theory is the substantiation of the actions we embark on...."*** It reveals not only the regularities and trends of social development but also how to master the mechanism of this development.

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*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 52.
**V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 36, p 205.
***Ibid., vol 35, p 172.

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The problem of the objective criteria of the society of mature socialism viewed in the unity of its quantitative and qualitative characteristics is of interest in this connection.

It is common knowledge that the development of the production forces is the highest criterion of historical progress. It determines to a decisive extent the dynamics of all other spheres of social life. It was for this reason that V.I. Lenin said that labor productivity is the principal and most important thing for the victory of the new social system. And this conclusion of V.I. Lenin's was further developed in the report of L.I. Brezhnev and other documents of the 26th CPSU Congress. At the same time not only the level of the production forces which has been reached but also how, thanks to this, the working people's material and spiritual requirements are being satisfied and their capabilities are being developed are important for a characterization of society's socioeconomic development and the progressive social changes.

Consequently, only a criterion which embraces all the most important aspects of social life can provide an integral idea of mature socialism. The more so in that mature socialism represents an integral system of social connections and relations which on the basis of a high level of growth of the socialist production mode affords scope for the action of the laws of society and the extensive use of the scientific-technical revolution.

It is natural that the objective criteria of the society of mature socialism in its quantitative and qualitative characterization presuppose the attentive, in-depth study of each sphere of social life with regard for its specific features. Nonetheless, it would appear that the interconnection of all aspects of social life is reflected most fully primarily in the satisfaction of the requirements and the development of the capabilities of man, the essence of whom, in Marx's words, "is not an abstraction characteristic of a single individual. In its reality it is the totality of all social relations."*

Back in 1902 V.I. Lenin pointed out that our goal is "the total well-being and free all-around development of all members of society."** And in all its activity the CPSU is guided by precisely this supreme purpose and is implementing it consistently and unswervingly. "The invariable program requirement of all in the name of man, all for the good of man has served and continues to serve," Comrade L.I. Brezhnev said at the 26th CPSU Congress, "as the point of departure of a party, political approach to the economy."***

And indeed, whatever aspect of the life of Soviet society one takes, our party operates everywhere in the name of man and in the interests of the people. In the sphere of the economy, increasing production efficiency and work quality and displaying concern for the growth of Soviet people's material well-being. In the sphere of social relations, developing socialist democracy and

*K. Marx, F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 42, p 265.
**V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 6, p 232.
***"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 31.

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enhancing the role of public opinion and collectively adopted decisions. In the sphere of culture, raising the general educational and cultural-technical level of the masses and refining their spiritual, moral qualities. In the sphere of international life, raising the country's defense capability and struggling consistently for the cause of peace throughout the world and the triumph of communist ideals in this world. "Concrete concern for the concrete individual and his needs and requirements" is thereby the start and finish of party policy. And this is also an important methodological principle of the Marxist-Leninist approach to an examination of problems of the socialist society: whatever is the final goal should also be the point of departure of the examination of its problems; it is necessary to proceed from the final goal toward that which is to ensure its achievement.

It should be emphasized finally that the CPSU Central Committee Report to the 26th party congress directs us once again and very forcefully toward the consistent implementation of the principle of communist party-mindedness in science, in art and in the sphere of spiritual culture in general. And this is understandable. Where there are no firm Marxist-Leninist principles, there is bourgeois theoretical thought, a plunging from extreme to extreme and serious mistakes and delusions. It is necessary, as Comrade L.I. Brezhnev emphasized, to put right in good time and skillfully those who slide to this side or the other and display irreconcilability with those who discredit our Soviet reality.

In short, it is a question of consistently defending in knowledge, in culture and in all spheres of social activity the purity of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and being primed with the theory and practice of scientific communism. This is particularly important now, under conditions wherein the ideological struggle in the international arena is becoming aggravated and more complex.

There is no doubt that the social scientists need to pay more attention to problems of Marxist-Leninist methodology, particularly with reference to specific spheres of knowledge and applied research. And not only because Marxist-Leninist methodology is not yet being developed sufficiently at these levels. The main point is that the enrichment and development of Marxist-Leninist methodology are possible in constant contact with life and practice and on the basis of the collation of the latest social experience and the achievements of the scientific cognition of nature. It is the connection with practice which is the guarantee of social science's surmounting of the shortcomings to which Comrade L.I. Brezhnev pointed at the 26th party congress, particularly the tendency toward scholastic theorizing and pedantry. It is this connection which helps science not only keep pace with life but also light up the road ahead, correctly solving the most important problems of scientific-technical, sociopolitical and spiritual progress.

The CPSU Central Committee Report to the 26th party congress says that a Marxist-Leninist party cannot fulfill its role if it does not pay due attention to the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory. It emphasizes anew and most forcefully that the theory of Marxism-Leninism and its principles are oriented toward a concrete analysis of a concrete situation and

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the collation of the real experience of the building of socialism and communism and the practice of a truly mass and really revolutionary movement, as V.I. Lenin taught.

Thus the CPSU Central Committee Report to the 26th party congress delivered by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev is a program party document whose propositions and conclusions represent the consistent application of Marxism-Leninism to life and its creative development in accordance with new historical experience.

II

The 26th CPSU Congress made a new contribution to the theory of developed socialism, the creation of which is a most important achievement of contemporary Marxist-Leninist thought, and thereby considerably expanded the horizons of the theory and practice of scientific communism. The congress' documents expand Marxist-Leninist theory of mature socialism in all aspects: economic, social, political and ideological.

Let us first examine in the light of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress the theoretical principles of the party's economic strategy.

Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's report at the 26th CPSU Congress disclosed principled directives in respect of all fundamental questions of the party's economic and social policy. And disclosed them in unity and with regard for the entire multifaceted practice of the Soviet people and world socialism. The report teaches us how we must take account of the urgent requirements of social development in good time and how, relying on historical experience, to proceed toward an in-depth understanding and explanation of new phenomena in the life of Soviet society, the socialist community countries and the world social process.

Let us take the question of the main task of the 11th Five-Year Plan, which "consists of ensuring the further growth of Soviet people's well-being based on the steady, ongoing development of the economy, the acceleration of scientific-technical progress and the transition of the economy to an intensive development path, the more rational use of the country's production potential, the utmost economies in all types of resources and an improvement in work quality."* If we compare this formula with the main task of the 10th Five-Year Plan, we see much that is common. And this is not fortuitous for it is a question of the party's consistent implementation of its economic strategy, whose highest goal is an unswerving upsurge in the people's material and cultural living standard and the creation of the best conditions for the all-around development of the personality on the basis of a further increase in the efficiency of all social production, increased labor productivity and the growth of Soviet people's social and labor assertiveness.

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 38.

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The formula of the main task of the country's economic development distinctly manifests the inseparable fusion of the economic and social policy of the CPSU. It provides a clear Marxist-Leninist understanding of the relationship of production and consumption, emphasizing that the problem of income leveling cannot be posed abstractly and in isolation from production and labor productivity growth. Not confining itself to a general theoretical interpretation of the question of production and consumption, it reveals it with reference to the current stage of the Soviet society's development and the conditions of mature socialism, when the main problem, which embraces all spheres of the economy, is to complete the transition to a predominantly intensive development path corresponding most fully to the requirements of mature socialism and leading to communist abundance.

The congress observed that the roots of the shortcomings in our economy are connected to a considerable extent with the fact that the force of the inertia, traditions and customs which evolved in the period when not only the qualitative but also the quantitative aspect was of prime importance has yet to be fully overcome. Oriented, as before, toward a high rate of growth of production, our party believes that it is now essential to increase its efficiency and provide for expanded socialist reporduction mainly by way of the fuller and more rational use of fixed production capital and capital investments, an acceleration of the labor productivity growth rate and an improvement in all qualitative indicators. Properly speaking, all the measures currently being implemented in the national economy are geared precisely to the accomplishment of these tasks.

"We are now, comrades," Comrade L.I. Brezhnev said at the 26th CPSU Congress, "capable of tackling the biggest and most complex tasks. But a seemingly simple and very routine matter is becoming the pivot of economic policy--a proprietorial attitude toward public property and the ability to make full and expedient use of everything that we have.... The party Central Committee calls on the congress' delegates to assert this conclusion as a most important principle of the CPSU's economic strategy for the coming period."* It is this that is a most important principle of the CPSU's economic strategy at the current stage. The huge scale of production (the country is the world leader in roughly 20 of the most important products) and the economic potential which we now possess make the quality of the product and its rational use the cornerstone. In addition, there has now been a marked acceleration of the rate of the scientific-technical revolution worldwide, and in this respect also our country must outpace capitalism and in no event be inferior to it. "We cannot and must not," Comrade L.I. Brezhnev said, "agree to anything less than conformity with the best world and national models."**

In concentrating forces on an increase in production efficiency and the mobilization of all factors contributing to this the party pays daily attention also to an improvement in the system of distribution of material and cultural benefits. This is a very important, crucial task. It was with good reason

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 42.
**Ibid., p 43.

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that Comrade M.A. Suslov, addressing our seminar-conference, focused attention on this. It is at this very point--an increase in the material well-being of the masses--that the economic and social policies of the CPSU interact and merge.

And here also our party displays a creative approach to the solution of the problems advanced by life and the practice of communist building and is developing Leninism with reference to the new living conditions. As is known, it was Lenin, disclosing the essence of socialism, its socioeconomic content and the practical tasks ensuing therefrom, who directly posed the question of the need for the strictest accounting and control of the extent of labor and consumption and the correct combination of material and moral incentives to labor. It was Lenin, having emphatically opposed petit bourgeois leveling, who substantiated the genuinely Marxist understanding of equality under socialism and signposted the way to the victory of communist labor.

But our party, relying on Leninist methodology, first charted the concrete paths toward realization of the communist principle "from each according to his capabilities, to each according to his requirements" in the process of socialist and communist building, having theoretically collated the new historical experience. It also comprehensively revealed the essence of socialist distribution, which, while by no means leveling the working people's requirements, creates real opportunities for their satisfaction according to the principle "from each according to this capabilities, to each according to his labor".

The party attentively takes account in its policy and practical activity of the growing economic force of the effect of this principle of socialism: the working people's work according to their capabilities is becoming increasingly fruitful, which is summarily expressed in the growth of labor productivity; and the extent of remuneration according to labor is becoming increasingly impressive. And both these values continue to grow. In the 11th Five-Year Plan labor productivity in industry is to increase 23-25 percent and in agriculture 22-24 percent. In accordance with this, the average monthly wage of workers and employees will increase 13-16 percent and kolkhoz members' pay 20-22 percent.

Inseparably linking the extent of distribtuion with the extent of labor, the CPSU underpins the program of a substantial increase in the material well-being and cultural level of the masses with a real foundation, providing for an increase in production and its efficiency, and at the same time takes account of the reverse impact thereon of distribution, guided by Lenin's proposition that "distribution is a method, implement and means for increasing production."*

Comrade L.I. Brezhnev said in the report at the 26th CPSU Congress: "Only labor--its quantity and quality--can be the main criterion of distribution under socialism.... Our system of material and moral incentives must always and everywhere provide for a fair and objective evaluation of the labor contribution of everyone."** And indeed: distribution according to labor

*V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 43, p 359.
**"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 59.

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engenders the working people's interest in an increase in their qualifications and cultural-technical level, contributing to the surmounting of the differences between people of intellectual and physical labor both in the city and in the countryside. It helps strengthen labor discipline and multiply material benefits. Finally, personal material interest, linking the extent of labor and the extent of consumption, inculcates in people carefulness and a solicitous attitude toward public property and serves--given the correct organization of matters--to foster a communist attitude toward labor.

The 26th CPSU Congress paid particular attention to the need to link wages not simply with a workers' qualifications but with the actual results of his activity, bearing in mind that wages serve not only as a means of satisfying requirements but also as an important stimulus to a growth of labor productivity and work quality. "...We have to ensure," Comrade N.A. Tikhonov said at the congress, "the increased dependence of the amount of the wage on the final results of the work of the collective and each workingperson."*

The CPSU also pays tremendous attention to an increase in the social consumption funds, whose significance grows as we move toward communism and which under the conditions of mature socialism are a source of satisfaction of a number of the masses' vitally important requirements and contribute to the equalization of Soviet people's socioeconomic living standard. But "they need to be spent," as the CPSU Central Committee Report to the 26th party congress said, "effectively and with the greatest benefit for people."**

Among the measures aimed at a rise in the working people's living standard in the 11th Five-Year Plan are an acceleration of the development of the group "B" sectors, the fuller satisfaction of demand for various commodities and services, the increased productiveness of agriculture, a strengthening of the agrarian-industrial complex and others. In a word, the documents of the 26th CPSU Congress indicate both the tasks and actual paths of an upsurge in the people's material well-being.

III

Exceptional significance in the solution of economic and social problems is attached to science and the use in the interests of the people of all the possibilities revealed by the scientific-technical revolution.

It is common knowledge that under current conditions science is increasingly becoming a direct production force. This applies not only to the technical and natural but also the social sciences inasmuch as they also contribute to the development of the production forces and an increase in labor productivity, formingpeople with profound knowledge and a wealth of production experience.

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 104.
**Ibid., p 60.

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Under the conditions of large-scale machine production science, via equipment and technology, that is, "embodied knowledge," exerts a tremendous influence on production. "Science was for Marx a historically motivating, revolutionary force," F. Engels wrote and emphasized that Marx held in particularly high regard discoveries having a direct "revolutionary impact on industry and historical development in general."*

Under socialism science is put for the first time in man's history directly and immediately at the service of the working people and their social interests, facilitating the labor and increasing the material well-being of the people and developing all man's spiritual and creative capabilities. Here, V.I. Lenin emphasized, all the wonders of technology and all the gains of culture become the property of all the people.

As practice testifies, at the stage of mature socialism socialist production relations not only afford full scope for the development of science, equipment and technology but are also capable of ensuring the interconnected, plan-based development of all technical (technological), economic, political and spiritual relations in their systemic character, integrity and unity. In other words, under the conditions of the socialist society science influences the production forces not only via equipment but also via planning--economic and social. And it is not fortuitous that the actual turnabout toward an increase in social production efficiency begins here with planning, which was shown convincingly at the 25th and 26th CPSU congresses.

Finally, being a direct production force, science is at the same time a most important element of spiritual culture. It exerts its influence on all spheres of social life--economic, political, moral and so forth--and on social mutual relations. V.I. Lenin even showed comprehensively in his works that scientific-technical achievements are realized via social relations; he also revealed in an all-embracing manner the organic connection of scientific-technical and social progress.

The celebrated formula: "Communism is Soviet power plus the electrification of the entire country"** belongs to V.I. Lenin. By this formula he emphasized that socialist, communist progress presupposes reorganization of the entire economy and social life on the basis of the use of the latest achievements of science and technology in combination with the power of the workers and peasants, that is, with socialist production relations and socialist democracy. They organically link all spheres of people's life in a single, integral system and provide via planning and the organizational-economic activity of the state for the use of the latest achievements of science and technology in the people's interests.

This thought of Lenin's was developed and concretized in the documents of the 24th, 25th and 26th congresses of our party. As Comrade L.I. Brezhnev

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*K. Marx, F. Engels, "Works," vol 19, p 351.
**V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 42, p 159.

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emphasized at the 26th CPSU Congress, the party of communists proceeds from the fact that the building of the new society without science is simply inconceivable.

The role of intellectual labor in the system of material production increases under the conditions of mature socialism. "Heavy" labor is being transferred increasingly to machines. And this does not diminish but increases the significance of the man armed with production experience and scientific knowledge. The labor of the modern worker, Comrade L.I. Brezhnev said, "is being suffused increasingly with intellectual content."* And this trend will grow and acquire increasingly great social significance as scientific-technical progress and production automation develop.

In this event, in Marx's words, "science enters the labor process as an independent force...."** However, science's impact on production here--via equipment and technology--acts, as before, as a most important factor of an increase in social production efficiency--both economic and social. For this reason "it is extremely necessary," L.I. Brezhnev said, "that the country ensure that the efforts of 'big science,' together with the development of theoretical problems, be concentrated to a greater extent on the solution of key national economic questions and discoveries capable of making truly revolutionary changes in production."***

The CPSU is now tackling a task of historic importance--the organic combination of the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution with the advantages of the socialist system of the economy and the more extensive development of its own forms, inherent in socialism, of the combination of science and production. This proposition also expresses a singularity of the developed socialist society constituting a mostimportant factor of its ongoing development, new objective possibilities characteristic of this stage of the socialist society's socioeconomic maturity in connection with the country's powerful scientific-technical potential and the need for new, more accomplished forms of the socialist combination of science and labor.

The historic task of the organic combination of the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution and the advantages of the socialist system of the economy were further concretized and developed in Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's report at the 26th CPSU Congress. There has been a considerable increase in the economy in recent years in the proportion of production and science-production and also interkolkhoz associations, in which forms of man's relations with the means of production via science inherent in mature socialism are being developed.

The implementation of goal-oriented programs aimed at the solution of cardinal socioeconomic problems--fuel-energy, transport, food and so forth--should be a new form of the socialist combination of science and labor.

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*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 52.
**K. Marx, F. Engels, "Works," vol 23, p 660.
***"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," pp 42-43.

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Scientific-technical progress, developing in breadth and in depth, is making increased demands on man and his attitude toward labor. Whence the 26th CPSU Congress' attention to labor and plan discipline and everyone's strict performance of his duties.

We still have many shortcomings here. But the main thing is that the complex units and automated systems born of the scientific-technical revolution require particularly careful treatment and high discipline, organization and professional culture. After all, overall success depends on the abilities of each and presupposes exceptional precision in the work of each and coordinated collective labor. And further: under socialism it is in labor, under the conditions of its correct organization on the basis of socialist production relations, that people's capabilities and their natural qualities are shaped and developed.

This is why in attaching paramount significance to the economy the CPSU regards social production efficiency and labor productivity growth as the foundation and basis of a rise in the people's material well-being and spiritual wealth, the all-around development of the personality and the accomplishment of all socioeconomic tasks and as the basis of its social policy.

IV

Let us now examine the sociopolitical problems set by the 26th CPSU Congress.

The interconnection of economic and social factors grows increasingly as our society advances toward communism. Take, for example, the problem of the practice of economies. It is currently a question of the rational use both of work time (the economic thrust) and free time (the social thrust), which presupposes the simultaneous development of the economic and social spheres and, consequently, a further improvement in the working people's everyday conditions and the fuller satisfaction of their social-domestic conditions and development of the services sphere. But this is just one aspect. The main thing is that the sociopolitical and ideological unity of Soviet society--the mighty source of communist progress--also matures on society's economic basis, is determined by it and cannot be correctly understood and explained in disconnection from the motive forces of material production and its foundation--socialist production relations.

The CPSU Central Committee Report to the 26th party congress directs us toward precisely such an approach to matters. Thus speaking of the ever increasing rapprochement in both the social and professional sense of the labor of the kolkhoz peasantry and that of the workers, Comrade L.I. Brezhnev emphasized that this rapprochement is determined to a large extent by the rapprochement of the two forms of socialist ownership and the development of interfarm organizations, in which both the kolkhozes and state enterprises participate.

And the essence of social interests under socialism, which link the political and moral-spiritual spheres of society and material production, can only be correctly revealed on the basis of production relations. Economic, material interests are of decisive significance here in the system of social interests

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in any society, including a socialist society. But their nature under socialism, where there are no antagonistic classes, is fundamentally different from capitalism and all other formations based on private ownership.

Relations of the comradely cooperation of people free from exploitation and the community of fundamental interests of all social groups and all members of society, in a word, collectivist social relations, are established under the conditions of socialism on the basis of public ownership of the means of production. "The reorganization of all social relations on the collectivist principles inherently characteristic of the new system is being completed in the period of developed socialism," the CPSU Central Committee Report to the 26th party congress says.*

This proposition, which was first expressed by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev in the report "Draft Constitution (Basic Law) of the USSR and the Results of its Nationwide Discussion," was further concretized and developed at the 26th party congress. Both the motives and stimuli of human acts born of collectivist social relations and how these relations are manifested in life, embracing its material and spiritual spheres, the existence of all social groups and all nations and nationalities of our country and their entire tenor of life, are shown here.

Comrade L.I. Brezhnev showed convincingly in the report at the 26th party congress that the rapprochement of all classes and social groups continues unswervingly in our country on the basis of the strengthening and development of socialist social ownership. This is an objective and by no means spontaneous process. It is being realized under the leadership of the CPSU, thanks to its purposeful social policy.

The leading role of the working class in the life of Soviet society has strengthened in the course of communist building, which is connected with the growth of its ideological-political maturity, education and professional skills. Profound changes are also occurring in the life of the kolkhoz peasantry, whose labor in the social and professional sense is growing gradually closer to that of the worker. A new stage of the practical realization of the ideas of Lenin's cooperative plan has begun under the conditions of mature socialism, when interfarm cooperation is assuming the significance of the basic, most progressive form of the specialization and concentration of agricultural production.

An increasingly significant part of social life is played by the intelligentsia. At the same time intellectual and physical labor are becoming interwoven increasingly closely in the production activity of millions of workers and kolkhoz members, which testifies to the dynamic process of the surmounting of the essential differences between intellectual and physical labor. It is, of course, a question of the surmounting of differences between people and not the singularities of intellectual and physical labor. Incidentally, the proportion of skilled physical labor in connection with the introduction of new complex equipment in medicine, the scientific-experimental sphere and

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 57.

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so forth is not diminishing currently but growing even. Differences in the nature of intellectual and physical activity remain even in the highest phase of communism. But there will be a greater combination of physical and intellectural labor, and manual, heavy, unskilled and semiskilled labor will be done away with. This is, as L.I. Brezhnev said, not only an economic but also serious social task, whose solution is directly connected with the removal of the barriers in the way of converting labor into every person's first vital requirement.*

Having analyzed the processes of the surmounting of social-class differences in our society at the stage of mature socialism, Comrade L.I. Brezhnev said in the report at the 26th CPSU Congress: it may be assumed that "the classless structure of society will come into being by and large within the historical framework of mature socialism."** This means that the development of mature socialism is simultaneously a process of the building of the communist society. In other words, there are no intermediate levels and stages between developed socialism and the highest phase of communism.

Consequently, it is logical to assume that it is precisely within the historical framework of mature, developed socialism as a result of the rise in the level of the socialization of the means of production both in industry and in agriculture and the development of interfarm cooperation and agrarian-industrial integration that the rapprochement of state and cooperative-kolkhoz ownership with the leading role of the working class will lead to the creation of single, all-people ownership corresponding to the high level of development of the production forces.

And the tasks which the current CPSU Program currently links with the final stage of our truly great cultural revolution will also be accomplished within the same historical framework of mature socialism.

These are, by and large, the objective conditions providing for the transition to a social classless structure. These are the realistic path toward realization of the program goal which the Communist Party has set itself--the building of a classless society.

Thus our party's social policy, which is oriented toward solution of the socioeconomic problems of the current stage, dialectically incorporates a direction toward the prospects of our society and its communist future without at the same time being divorced from realistic ground and actual possibilities and without descending into social castle-building.

Movement toward a social classless structure is not a short-term act. V.I. Lenin pointed out that surmounting social-class differences is a more protracted task than removal of the soil for man's exploitation of man.*** And

*See "Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 57.
**Ibid., p 53.
***See V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 39, p 15.

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life has fully corroborated this conclusion. The first phase of the communist formation--socialism--is not free of class differences and the specific interests of the classes and social groups. And where differences exist, there is also the possibility of contradictions, even under conditions where the fundamental interests of the classes and all social groups coincide. Whence the need for constant concern for the correct combination of the interests of the social groups, directing them into a single common channel. This is what our party is doing, ensuring with its policy and its entire activity the firm alliance of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and people's intelligentsia and the monolithic sociopolitical and ideological unity of the Soviet society.

The erasure of interclass differences, however, sets new tasks in the sphere of social policy. As Comrade L.I. Brezhnev emphasized in the report at the 26th party congress, it is concentrated increasingly on overcoming differences which go beyond the framework of individual classes, an attentive consideration of the singularities and interests of each group of our society and the leveling of social differences territorially, so to speak.*

It should be borne in mind that class relations do not exhaust all social relations and that social-class differences do not exhaust all social differences. For example, there are professional differences connected with the social division of labor. It is also natural that the singularities conditioned by the social division of labor will not disappear with the achievement of a classless social structure, that is, with the ascent of all social relations to a qualitatively new level. Differentiation in the production process connected with people's sex and age, differences in their production experience and so forth will also remain. National singularities will also be preserved for a long time under communism.

Of course, in the process of the surmounting of social-class differences, interclass and intraclass, there are also changes in the social division of labor and its professional structure. The forms of the division of labor, the types of labor and man himself even will undoubtedly change in the highest phase of communism. Broadly educated and spiritually rich, he will achieve a high degree of accomplishment in this sphere or the other and will himself have freely opted for the type of labor or several types of activity. As far as the specialization of social labor is concerned, it is, V.I. Lenin pointed out, "infinite in its very essence--just like the development of technology."**

The entire practice of communist building testifies incontrovertibly that a high level of science and culture, technology and production organization require of people an ever increasing diversity and comprehensiveness of development and at the same time more profound specialized knowledge in each sphere of social activity and that many years of persistent labor, the constant replenishment and deepening of knowledge and refinement of skills are needed to acquire them. And this fact has to be taken into consideration not only

*See "Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 54.
**V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 1, p 95.

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in theory but also in the practice of the solution of problems of communist building, from the tuition and training of the younger, rising generation in the school through the scientific organization of labor and problems of the further development of socialist democracy and the use of the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution in the people's interests.

Modern production, Comrade L.I. Brezhnev said at the 26th CPSU Congress, makes rapidly growing demands not merely on machinery and equipment but primarily on the workers themselves and those who build this machinery and control this equipment. "A person's specialized knowledge, high professional training and general culture are becoming an obligatory condition of the successful labor of increasingly broad strata of workers."*

In science the integration of knowledge, increasing and strengthening also does not exclude its differentiation but, on the contrary, is its basis and foundation. "...Without limitation of a sphere of activity," K. Marx wrote in "Das Kapital," "nothing of significance can be accomplished in any sphere."** In the socialist society at the stage of its maturity the formation and development of the working people as the main production force is the component of a more wide-ranging task—the fostering of an enterprising, creative and comprehensively developed personality actively participating in spheres of social life. But this process by no means undermines the trend toward specialization. On the contrary, specialization intensifies on the basis of people's all-around development and the high culture of society.

The socialist society at the stage of maturity is developing at a pace which is historically unprecedented. And this applies not only to social-class but all social relations, including national. Analyzing the dialectics of life in its forward movement, our party drew the important conclusion that the nationality question in the form bequeathed us from the past has now been solved in the Soviet Union in full and conclusively and irreversibily. But this does not mean that there are no longer any problems in the sphere of national relations. The CPSU has made and continues to make an appreciable contribution to the development of the Marxist-Leninist theory of national relations and is creatively solving in this sphere the new problems arising in the process of socialist and communist building.

As is known, having comprehensively developed the permanent principles of the equal union of the peoples based on complete trust and consent, V.I. Lenin did not delineate the stages of the rapprochement and merger of the nations. And understandably: in the first years of Soviet power and, even less, prior to the victory of the socialist revolution this was not of essential significance. Even under those conditions, incidentally, Lenin considered it important to emphasize that state and national differences "will remain a very, very long time...."***

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*"Material of the 24th CPSU Congress," Moscow, 1971, p 41.
**K. Marx, F. Engels, "Works," vol 23, p 378.
***V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 41, p 77.

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But with our society's embarkation upon the period of mature socialism the strict delineation of these processes became necessary both from the theoretical and practical-political viewpoints. "We are opposed to trends aimed at the artificial erasure of national singularities," Comrade L.I. Brezhnev emphasized. "But we consider equally impermissible their artificial exaggeration. It is the party's sacred duty to raise the working people in a spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism and the proud feeling of membership of the single great Soviet motherland."*

Questions of national relations were examined at the 26th party congress in organic unity with questions of the social-class structure of our society. Otherwise it would have been impossible to understand either the new social and international community which the single multinational Soviet people represents, the processes connected with our society's movement toward a classless social structure and the complete social homogenity of all its constituent peoples or the current stage in the development of national relations.

It was mentioned at the 26th CPSU Congress that there are no backward national outlying regions here and that a process of the all-around rapprochement of the republics, the flowering and enrichment of the national cultures and the formation of the culture of the single Soviet people--a new historical community which in essence corresponds to the stage of developed socialism and most fully reflects the trends of the ongoing movement toward communism--is proceeding unswervingly in the country. But this process by no means erases the "ethnic individuality" of the nations and nationalities and does not exclude or diminish national communities. "...Building up the material and spiritual potential of each republic and at the same time its maximum use for the harmonious development of the whole country"**--such is our party's strategic course expressing the direction of the development of national relations at the current stage.

The formation of a new historical community does not slow down but, on the contrary, is providing for the even more rapid rate of development of each nation for, developing as part of a single whole, each nation and nationality makes use of the tremendous advantages of the USSR's strengthening single national economic complex. Our country represents a single socioeconomic organism, all of whose tasks, to whatever sphere of life and in whatever region they apply, should be tackled by joint efforts and most rationally and efficiently. Thus the wide-ranging measures for the upturn of the economy of the nonchernozem are to be implemented, as Comrade L.I. Brezhnev emphasized, "by the joint efforts of all republics and as quickly as possible."*** This was how we built the Turkestan-Siberian Railroad and the Urals-Kuznetskiy Coal Basin, developed the virgin land and restored Tashkent.

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*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 57.
**Ibid., p 55.
***Ibid., p 56.

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Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's report also raised the problems of the further development of socialist democracy, particularly in connection with the fact that the composition of the population of all the Soviet republics is multinational. Every Soviet person, to whatever nationality he belongs and in whatever republic he lives, feels himself to be a fully equal citizen with all the duties and all the rights of a USSR citizen. This is a tremendous achievement of socialist democratism expressing the political progress of the Soviet society.

The 26th CPSU Congress showed that the political progress of our society consists primarily of the growth and development of the social-political assertiveness of every USSR citizen and the refinement of society's political organization via the working people and in the interests of the working people and that the general thrust of political progress under the conditions of mature socialism acquired comprehensive and concentrated expression in the 1977 USSR Constitution. The interconnection of the sociopolitical assertiveness of the masses and political progress with the accomplishment of the tasks of communist building is revealed most fully under the conditions of the developed socialist society, where the necessary material-technical and economic prerequisites have been created for the development of the totality of social relations based on the principles of collectivism.

All this is of tremendous international significance. Particularly when it is considered that under current conditions the theory of the socialist state and socialist democracy is being actively developed by the collective efforts of Marxist-Leninists on the basis of the actual experience of the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries. As a result of this collective work and on the basis of an analysis of the aggregate experience of world socialism the theory of scientific communism has been enriched: scientific ideas concerning the dialectics of the general and the particular and the unity of the content and the diversity of the forms of the socialist countries' state building have been expanded; and the role of the Marxist-Leninist party as the nucleus of the socialist society's political system and its state and public organizations is being revealed in increasingly great depth and the stages and prospects and forms of movement of the peoples toward the highest phase of the communist social-economic formation are increasingly clear.

Relying on practice in its dialectical development and the collective experience of all the socialist community countries, we now have a chance to conceive of the communist future more clearly than ever before and, taking knowledge of the laws of social development revealed by Marxism-Leninism as the basis, accelerate movement toward it, while at the same not getting artificially ahead of ourselves.

As is known, V.I. Lenin wrote way back in "Gosudarstvo i revolyutsiya" [The State and Revolution] that the refinement of socialist social relations presupposes "the development of democracy to the end, a quest for the forms of such development and their verification by practice...."* These few words

*V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 33, p 79.

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contain an entire program. Indeed, all the organizational forms of the democratic control of the affairs of society and the state cannot be foreseen ahead of time; they are created in accordance with the concrete historical and national conditions of the country and the international situation and are verified and tested by practice. But the main directions and trends of the development of socialist social relations, the state and socialist democracy correspond here to the general laws of historical progress.

The dialectics of social development are such: our society will arrive at the withering away of the state-legal superstructure via its strengthening, on the basis of the all-around development and intensification of socialist democracy and as a result of the transformation of the current political connections and relations. This is a lengthy process, but it has deep roots in socialist reality. Comrade L.I. Brezhnev said in the report at the Ninth USSR Supreme Soviet Extraordinary Seventh Session on 4 October 1977 that "our statehood is gradually developing into communist social self-administration with the development of socialist democracy"* and that even now millions of citizens are participating increasingly actively in the work of the organs of power and people's control, management of production and distribution, the implementation of social and cultural policy and the administering of justice as the all-people state is developed and perfected. The democratic basis of the state and public organizations is being further strengthened here under the leadership of the CPSU and on the basis of its principles and its policy, which expresses the fundamental interests of the working class and all working people.

V

The question of the growing role of the CPSU in the life of Soviet society under current conditions was also substantiated in greater depth at the 26th CPSU Congress. Comrade L.I. Brezhnev emphasized particularly the fundamental importance of the conclusion put forward at the 25th party congress that the role of the party in the life of society increases in the period of developed socialism. "The past 5-year period has shown this conclusion to be undoubtedly correct. It is now, in the light of the Soviet people's impressive achievements, that Lenin's well-known formula that the party is the mind, honor and conscience of our era is being perceived in increasingly great depth."**

The increased level of the CPSU's scientific leadership of socioeconomic processes and its enhanced responsibility for their results are brought about by the fact that:

first, the scale of communist building has expanded and the socioeconomic resources of the country and the culture of the masses have grown;

*L.I. Brezhnev, "Lenin's Way," Moscow, 1978, vol 6, p 534.
**"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 68.

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second, there has been an unusual acceleration of socioeconomic progress itself, demanding the exceptionally precise control of the course of events and the balanced development of the economy;

third, the forms of social life have become more complex, the union and interaction of all elements of our social system have increased and there is a heightened need for a comprehensive approach to phenomena and processes and for them to be viewed in their unity and dynamics in order to ensure with the help of science and through comprehensive planning the accelerated plan-oriented forward movement of our society toward the highest phase of communism; and

fourth, there has been an immeasurable increase in the creative activeness of the masses--the conscious builders of communism--and their role in the running of state and social affairs; and socialist democratism in our society embraces all aspects and all forms of Soviet people's vital activity.

Thus the CPSU's increased role in the period of developed socialism has deep socioeconomic grounds and roots. This is by nature an objective, but not spontaneous process. Great theoretical and political significance is attached to Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's conclusion that the role of the leading force of society does not come about of its own accord but is worked for and earned in the course of constant, incessant struggle for the interests of the working people and is consolidated by the fact that the party is constantly extending its ties to the people's masses and living their needs and concerns.*

This means that the party, united and cohesive and armed with Marxist-Leninist theory, must invariably keep its finger on the pulse of life, constantly analyze socioeconomic and political processes, find the ways to solve the problems which arise and carry the masses with it, correctly expressing their fundamental interests and raising their consciousness to the level of the historic tasks confronting society.

This also means that the party must display constant concern for the ideological-political training of the communists and the highest exactingness toward all its members, whatever position they hold. No leniency for anyone when it is a question of the honor and authority of our party and the purity of its ranks, Comrade L.I. Brezhnev said and emphasized that "it is this high exactingness which ensures the monolithic unity of the CPSU and its capacity for heading Soviet society and confidently leading the Soviet people along the path toward communism."**

The proposition that under the conditions of developed socialism, when the Communist Party has become the party of the entire people, it by no means loses its class character was put forward at the 25th CPSU Congress. It was

*See "Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," pp 219-219.
**Ibid., p 68.

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emphasized at the 26th party congress in confirmation of this proposition that the best representatives of the working class constituted 59 percent of those who joined the party in the last 5 years.

In general, political progress under socialism is inseparable from the leading and constantly growing role of the working class in the life of society. For this reason in the developed socialist society also the Communist Party remains by nature and class content the party of the working class--the leading force of communist building embodying its world outlook, its policy and its goals. At the same time the class character of our party, which has always expressed and continues to express most fully and profoundly the cherished aspirations and fundamental interests of all the working people, should be understood in its dynamics and in the process of continuous development.

Insofar as in the mature socialist society the cooperation of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and intelligentsia has strengthened and grown and been raised to a qualitatively new level and insofar as the revolutionary ideology and morality of the working class, its collectivist mentality and its interests and ideals are now becoming the property of all strata of the Soviet society, to that extent the Communist Party--the party of the working class--is here the combat vanguard of the whole people, which is building communism. In other words, the social base of the Communist Party under the conditions of socialism is expanding, reflecting the new social-class structure of society. But this is not happening at the expense of any weakening of the revolutionary principles of the working class but on their granite foundation, which reveals even more strikingly the great meaning of class goals, ideals and principles of the working class and the increase in its leading role in the life of society.

Thus it is legitimate to speak of the single social-class, internationalist essence of the CPSU as the party of the working class also at the stage of the socialist society's development when it is becoming increasingly homogeneous socially and when the deep-lying process of the rapprochement, flowering and mutual enrichment of the nations on the basis of the new historical community of people, whose backbone is the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party, is under way. In other words, having become the vanguard of the entire people, in the mature socialist society also, we emphasize this once again, the CPSU remains the party of the working class. The more so in that in the world arena it represents an illustrious combat detachment of the international communist movement, which is in the van of the class struggle of the revolutionary proletariat and the broadest working people's masses against imperialist reaction and for peace, democracy and socialism.

The Communist Party is the political leader of the people and the guiding and directing force of the socialist society. It would be naive to believe that the tasks of political leadership of the socialist society become simpler at the stage of its maturity. On the contrary, as socialist social relations develop, in V.I. Lenin words, increasingly great objective possibilities are created for the organization of social production and distribution on the basis of science and "in accordance with scientific consideration". But realization of the possibilities of the conscious, scientific control of social production and all other social processes in accordance with the objective

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laws of social life is, as Lenin pointed out, a task of gigantic complexity. "...An understanding of such a truth," he wrote, "contains the entire difficulty of Marxism and its entire strength."*

This is why in formulating its economic and social policy our party pays such great attention to a refinement of the economic mechanism and the control of socioeconomic processes under current conditions. The documents of the 26th CPSU Congress, the CPSU Central Committee decree "A Further Improvement in the Economic Mechanism and the Tasks of the Party and State Authorities" and the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "An Improvement in Planning and the Increased Impact of the Economic Mechanism on an Increase in Production Efficiency and Work Quality" outline big tasks for an improvement in economic control in order that it correspond in full to the requirements of the stage of mature socialism.

The CPSU is endeavoring to ensure that the Soviet society function as a well-tuned clock mechanism, that the entire mechanism of realization of economic laws operate efficiently, smoothly and precisely and at all levels, in all components and in all spheres of our social life, moreover, and that each Soviet person know his tasks in his area of work and successfully accomplish them, see current and long-term problems and be able to tackle knowledgeably the tasks of economic, sociopolitical and cultural development confronting him, the group to which he belongs and the entire country.

Our entire ideological and ideological-political work is called on to play a tremendous part here. Our goal, which was signposted by the 26th party congress, is to achieve in practice the unity of ideological-theoretical, political-education, organizing and economic work.

Summing up what has been said, we emphasize once again that the documents of the 26th party congress, primarily the CPSU Central Committee Report delivered by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, afford us an opportunity to understand that our movement toward communism is being accomplished "via the stage of the developed socialist society" and that this is a "necessary, logical and historically lengthy period in the coming into being of the communist formation."** This conclusion is of tremendous theoretical and practical significance for whereas it is possible to arrive at socialism having bypassed capitalism, it is impossible to arrive at communism having bypassed socialism.

A Marxist-Leninist analysis of developed socialism presupposes its investigation from the angle of Marxist-Leninist teaching on formations and the ascertainment of the general regularities of socialist building and their distinctive manifestation in different countries. As the aggregate experience of socialism shows, there are particularly many sharp differences here in the transitional period from capitalism to socialism for the movement toward socialism begins under the most varied socioeconomic and cultural conditions.

*V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 36, p 381.
**"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 78.

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Increasingly much that is common and similar, however, appears in all spheres of social life as socialism develops, and at the stage of its maturity, when socialism develops on its own basis, on the basis of socialist production relations, the former sharp differences no longer exist. In our country the problem of equalization of the levels of the socioeconomic and spiritual development of the peoples has already been solved, in the main; currently, under the conditions of mature socialism, the accelerated completion of these processes based on the general upsurge and high economic and sociopolitical dynamics in under way.

In revealing the advantages of the new system it is necessary, strictly speaking, to compare not capitalism and socialism but capitalism and the communist formation with regard for its highest phase. Nonetheless, socialism's indisputable advantages over capitalism are perfectly obvious even now. These advantages are the source of our optimism and firm confidence in the triumph of communist ideals.

Practical realization of the magnificent program put forward by our party at its 26th congress will contribute to the further upsurge of our motherland, the increased well-being and culture of the Soviet people, the strengthening of the cause of peace worldwide and new successes of social progress in this world. The CPSU has the truest compass, tested by life, whose needle unerringly signposts the arterial movement toward communism. This is the great Marxist-Leninist science, the powerful instrument of knowledge and the revolutionary transformation of the world and the great science of winning. It is the dependable foundation of the activity of the CPSU and all the fraternal parties.

Loyally and unswervingly following this teaching and its creative development with reference to present-day tasks is the basis and guarantee of the successes of the Soviet people, all the socialist countries and the entire international communist movement both in the present and in the future.

* M.A. Prokof'yev, minister of education of the USSR: "The 26th CPSU Congress and the Tasks of an Improvement in the Ideological-Political, Occupational and Moral Training of Schoolchildren"

The school is of great significance in the molding of the younger generation. The transition to compulsory universal secondary education is under way in our country; an increasingly large number of students (there will be 14-14.5 million of them by 1985) attends extended-day groups in which the appropriate educational and training program is provided for them; the schooldhildren's organized recreation combined with work of which they are capable in the summer vacation period is being further developed (it extends to 24-25 million persons annually).

The Communist Party sets the Soviet teaching body ever increasing tasks. This was reflected in the CPSU Central Committee decree "A Further Improvement in Ideological and Political Education" and was heard at the 26th CPSU Congress. The USSR Ministry of Education Board and the General Educational School Council attentively discussed the tasks ensuing from the decisions of the 26th party congress and drew up the corresponding plans. Paramount significance in these is attached to a further strengthening of the ideological-political

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education of the students. Every school student should be aware of, in a form that is intelligible for him, the material of the 26th CPSU Congress. A special methods letter was issued concerning the organization of such work by way of conversations with students of different grades on subject matter connected with the material of the congress, the inclusion of this material in the main courses and extramural measures. The special aids "For the School Student Concerning the 26th CPSU Congress" and the corresponding methods book for the teacher are to be published in 1981.

Shortly after the promulgation of the CPSU Central Committee decree "A Further Improvement in Ideological and Political Education," a specially organized teachers' conference was held in Kazan' which on the basis of accumulated experience formulated recommendations for study in the school of the works of V.I. Lenin and the most important party and government documents. These recommendations point, inter alia, toward the in-depth study of Lenin's works which are intelligible to the students and caution against thoughtlessly extending the list thereof.

It is extraordinarily important to increase the ideological-political aspect in study of the humanities and the natural sciences and to make the fullest use of the possibilities of each subject for the shaping of a Marxist-Leninist world outlook.

The successful realization of the scheduled plans naturally depends on the teacher. Great attention is paid to Marxist-Leninist education in the process of the training of young teachers in the VUZ's. But the knowledge acquired during studies must be renewed and replenished in the process of work. A course on topical problems of Marxist-Leninist thoery and CPSU policy has been introduced in the teacher-improvement institutes, where every teacher undergoes the appropriate retraining once every 5 years, as a rule, for everyone, irrespective of special subject. The Moscow teachers' initiative "Higher Political Education for Every Teacher" has also been taken up by other teaching groups. With every passing year there is an increased number of teachers who have completed universities of Marxism-Leninism or are being trained in them.

A special council for the improvement of the ideological-theoretical training of teaching personnel has been set up under the USSR Ministry of Education. The council heard reports on the organization of the teachers' ideological-political training in different parts of the country (in Stavropol'skiy Kray, the Lithuanian SSR, the Chuvashskaya ASSR and elsewhere) and approved Stavropol'skiy Kray's experience of the creation of schools of scientific communism for the teachers. Discussion of the curricula and syllabi of these schools has shown that, given the appropriate finishing touches and with regard for the experience of other republics, krays and oblasts, this form could be recommended for extensive use in the political education system.

The ministry's work plan provides for further study, collation and dissemination of the experience of the ideological-theoretical training of teaching personnel and the organization in teaching journals and UCHITEL'SKAYA GAZETA of permanent heads in assistance to teachers conducting theoretical seminars

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and those studying independently Marxist-Leninist theory and the material of the 26th party congress. In 1982 the USSR Ministry of Education plans to conduct an all-union scientific-practical conference on the ideological-theoretical education of teaching personnel in the light of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress.

At the same time there is much that remains in need of improvement in the organization of tuition and political education in the school. Formalism in learning is proving difficult to overcome, and a dependable bridge is far from always being laid between learning and practical conclusions refracted in behavior and in the attitude toward studies and work. Converting knowledge into conviction is a complex process requiring efforts and patience on the part of the tutors. The reaction of the tutor-teachers to the mistaken views of certain schoolchildren is not always correct, and "exposure" often prevails over persuasion. Individual work with the juveniles is often not performed. Much has to be done to do away with these shortcomings.

The traditional August teacher conferences should mobilize the schools' teacher groups for fulfillment of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress. It would be advisable at these conferences' plenary sessions to hear a general political report on the 26th CPSU Congress and the tasks ensuing from its decisions and Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's report thereat and also the report of the leader of the public education department with an analysis of the results of the past year and concrete measures to fulfill the party's targets in the sphere of public education.

The material of the 26th CPSU Congress, the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "A Further Improvement in the Tuition and Training of General Educational School Students and Their Preparation for Work" (1977) and also the citizens' letters contain criticism of the school curricula and textbooks and note their increased complexity. It is essential to rectify the situation.

A great deal of work has been done in the last 2 years on a critical reexamination and adjustment of the school curricula. It has been decided to introduce in them as an integral part certain didactic advice and pedagogical requirements. These include such important ones as "Principal Requirements of Knowledge and Ability," which are designed to orient the teacher toward precisely the questions on which it is necessary to concentrate special attention in order to consolidate knowledge in the pupil. We are endeavoring to make the curricula a permanent document for the teacher. It will be necessary to examine the published curricula attentively at the August teacher conferences, and they will be taken into consideration in work in the 1981-1982 academic year.

Old textbooks are being emended and new ones are being created. Textbooks should be brought into line with the curricula. But this will take some time. The main line of the finishing touches amounts to increasing, on a level intelligible for the schoolchildren, the ideological concentration of the material and its connection with the processes observed in life and, consequently, to increasing the polytechnical thrust of the textbooks. We must also try to prevent overburdening the textbooks with specific terminology for

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a given science. In some of them an understanding of the essence of important processes is clothed in such archcomplex scientific language that additional efforts are required to simply remember the terms.

The most appreciable changes are occurring in the math course. Although there are various approaches to the study of math in the school, it has to be admitted that the textbooks are unduly formalized. Certain grades (the sixth and the ninth, for example) in the mass school will evidently switch in the 1982-1983 academic year to tuition in accordance with the new textbooks.

It is well known that the entire process of tuition and training in the school cannot be reduced to presenting information and the pupils' acquiring and assimilating knowledge. It is impossible to teach a person, even less, a young person by information alone to act in accordance with the demands of society and the principles of communist morality and to cultivate in him stanch, conscious convictions. It is important that the educational process be combined with labor and socially useful activity, in accordance, of course, with the student's age.

The school's role in occupational training grows under the conditions of universal compulsory secondary education. A great deal of work has been done with the help of the party and state organizations on improving the students' occupational training and vocational guidance, the creation of the necessary physical plant of the school workshops and the more than 2,000 industrial-training centers and the enlistment of a large number of experienced personnel.

We often imply in our practice by occupational training merely the acquisition of certain occupational skills at work classes. But we must not be confined to this. There is also a decent number of occupational classes in the vocational-technical schools, for example, and professional tuition is organized quite well. But the problem of occupational training has by no means been done away with. It is a more complex matter than that. The entire process of tuition and training should be geared to the molding of a responsible attitude toward work and industriousness. The system of measures whose principal components are rationally organized educational work, well-arranged self-education in the school, a combination of work of which one is capable and recreation in the summer vacation period and, finally, handwork classes (properly speaking, occupational training) is designed to contribute to this.

The fostering of occupational qualities begins with each pupils' thorough performance of his educational duties. It is to this that we need primarily to direct the attention of both the teachers and the pioneer and Komsomol organizations and the public.

An important element of occupational training is self-help and service of one's group. The observance of sanitary-hygiene practices in the school is primarily a matter for the pupils themselves. Self-help should not be regarded as a purely economic function. Every student should feel: "The school is my home. I must keep order in it".

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The schoolchildren have a long summer vacation, from 10 to 14 weeks in practice. Many young boys from the junior and middle grades spend time in out-of town pioneer camps or camps organized under the auspices of the school. They allocate an unforgivably small amount of time to occupational matters. Together with the trade union and Komsomol organizations the USSR Ministry of Education must emphatically rectify matters. Work and recreation camps for the senior students have become widespread. The successes must be consolidated and the quality of the occupational matters improved. Collective labor, socially useful labor, is a great educator. This business is no less important than the handwork classes.

Rationally organized handwork classes are intended to and can influence primarily the direction of vocational guidance in accordance with the requirements of the national economy. Such influence is as yet insufficient. The fact that the percentage (below 50) of graduates connecting their future path with work or training in accordance with the school occupational guidance specialty is still small testifies to this. An improvement in vocational guidance is connected with the development of the industrial-training centers (UPK)--the best form of the organization of the schoolchildren's occupational training at this stage. It is proposed to increase the number of UPK by a further 1,000 in the 11th Five-Year Plan. It is necessary to bring the UPK's specialization more into line with national economic requirements, improve the quality of their work and increase their educative impact on the schoolchildren. Implementation of all these measures in a complex will be realization of the targets of the 26th party congress with respect to an improvement in the younger generation's occupational training.

It is essential in work on vocational guidance to take into consideration the picture of the distribution of the youth streams which is actually unfolding. Let us trace the fate of the generation which started school in 1975. Some 4,009,000 children were accepted in the first grade at that time. In 1983 they will complete the eighth grade, and in 1985 the majority of them will complete the 10th grade. Calculations show that approximately 50 percent of them will replenish various occupational schools, approximately 20 percent will enter secondary specialized educational institutions, approximately 10 percent will enter VUZ's and the remainder (roughly 20 percent) should enter the national economy directly.

The significance of the close connection between the school and the vocational-technical college is growing. Practice has accumulated many good examples of their joint work which the USSR Ministry of Education and the USSR State Committee for Vocational-Technical Education are endeavoring to encourage and disseminate in every possible way. But the problem has not been solved completely. Efforts should be of a two-sided nature. The school has an important role in this two-sided process. It consists of the appropriate organization of occupational instruction and work on vocational guidance, the school collectives' constant contacts with the college collectives and the joint discussion of ways and methods of improving general educational preparation and occupational training.

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Not all agree with the above-stated position concerning ways to improve occupational training. The congress' mail and press publications set forth different viewpoints also.

One such is directed against the UPK, which allegedly only harm matters, attempt to provide inadequately prepared people with professional qualifications and impede the staffing of the vocational-technical schools. But, first, the UPK do not give out worker grades, this is done only by skilled commissions of the enterprise, and they are given only to the most well-trained schoolchildren. Second, it is hardly possible to solve questions of occupational training and vocational guidance in the abstract. Such a liquidationist viewpoint appears to us mistaken and contrary to party decisions concerning the school.

Another viewpoint amounts to the fact that it is necessary to convert the occupational polytechnical school into a monotechnical school. As an article claims, the school could be financially autonomous, earning from the work of the trainees up to R10 billion annually. To take certain progressive experience as the reference point, such a school could allegedly train workers far more quickly than the vocational-technical schools, and this would cost six-seven times less. So, not a polytechnical but monotechnical school responsible for the manufacture of products and not the formation of people. It is not a new view. Such a viewpoint was in the past devastatingly assailed by V.I. Lenin. Such pseudodiscoveries hardly need to be popularized in the press. Such publications not only do not do any good but are essentially harmful.

Schoolteachers must now provide the pupil not only with a certain level of knowledge stipulated by the curriculum and shape him as a personality but also help him realize his plans in life and determine his place in social production, where he may be of the maximum benefit to society and most fully satisfy his personal interests and aptitudes.

In the 10th Five-Year Plan the school was reinforced with an almost 800,000-strong detachment of young specialists trained in the teacher-training institutes and schools. Particular attention was paid here to providing the high schools with qualified personnel. Work on raising the teachers' qualifications has assumed considerable proportions. The newly instituted high title of "USSR People's Teacher" was conferred for the first time on 25 teachers.

However, there are still many shortcomings which need to be eradicated in the training of teachers and raising their qualifications and, primarily, in arming them with the means and methods of educational work. It is planned to step up the training of specialists, particularly with secondary pedagogical education. Educational work methods instructor-specialists will be trained first by way of experiment and subsequently, we hope, more extensively. It should be borne in mind that approximately 300,000 regular tutors currently work in the country's schools. But their training is often below the standard required today.

Comrade L.I. Brezhnev rightly observed at the 26th party congress that the demands on the teacher are growing continuously. He pointed to the need for an attentive attitude toward the teacher's work, his life and everyday existence and an improvement in his qualifications. Measures are being planned

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to improve the work of the Teacher-Improvement Institute. Schoolteacher-improvement faculties have been opened in a number of teacher-training institues and universities. Some 15 subscription methods libraries for different categories of teachers will be prepared and published in the 11th Five-Year Plan. Many ministries and departments have determined measures for assisting schoolteachers in the schoolchildren's occupational instruction, including the ministries of light industry, agriculture, railways, coal industry and food industry.

The USSR Ministry of Culture has examined the question of how with the resources of art to better propagandize the creative work of the teacher and drawn up a number of recommendations. Many party committees and soviets are adopting the necessary measures to assist the teachers (particularly the younger generation) in the normal organization of their life and everyday existence.

However, there are also quite a few negative facts in this respect also, unfortunately. Here are a few examples from recent mail. Bryanskaya Oblast's "Vlast' sovetov" Kolkhoz allocated teachers an apartment in a house that had not been completed. It had only just been completed, and an order followed for the apartment to be assigned the veterinary assistant coming to the kolkhoz. The teachers have been trying for a year, but have been unable to solve the problem. "A kolkhoz apartment," the board replies, "but you are not connected with the kolkhoz." Frequently the teachers are used in the most varied work absolutely unrelated to their main duties. In Kirghizia's Kantskiy Rayon the Novopokrovskiy Rural Soviet obliged the teachers to make a list of citizens with previous convictions, drunkards and also the owners of motor transport facilities, endowing them with the functions of administrative authorities: picking up illegally stored weapons, checking transport papers and so forth. In Gomel'skaya Oblast's city of Svetlogorsk the teachers had to collect information on believers, people with previous convictions (who and for what) and other persons. We must declare an emphatic struggle against such "local initiatives". They undermine the teacher's authority and harm the cause of the young people's education.

The press and the working people's letters sometimes raise quite sharply the question of the formal approach to evaluating a school's activity by the pass-rate percentage. The authors of the letters frequently conclude that such an evaluation leads to the flourishing of liberalism and does not contribute to the inculcation of a responsible attitude toward tuition. It is proposed that the USSR Ministry of Education work on the determination of objective criteria of an evaluation of the activity of the teacher and the teaching collective. What is our position on this question?

Evaluating the work of the teacher and the teaching collective solely by the pass-rate percentage would be wrong. The school not only teaches but educates also. The ideological-political climate in the collective and the fostering of lofty civic qualities in the pupils are an important indicator of the school's activity. It cannot be evaluated by an arithmetical grade. It is manifested in the social activity of the teachers and students, in their understanding of their duty, in the attitude toward events in the country and in the world and in much else. But nor should the pass-rate

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indicator be discarded entirely. Secondary education in our country is compulsory for everyone; there was every reason to introduce it. Given the normal process of tuition and education, all children (excluding, of course, handicapped children) can and should receive it. True, this requires intensive work both from the pupil and the teacher. At the same time it is necessary to declare battle against those who take an easier path--undeservedly evaluating with a positive grade those who have not acquired the necessary knowledge.

The education system will be further developed in the 11th Five-Year Plan. The number of students will increase by 2 million, the number of children being raised in preschool establishments by 3 million and the number of children of half-board status will increase by 3 million.

The workers of the education system regard the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress as a fundamental program of their activity. The Soviet teaching body represents a big army of ideological workers and is the Lenin Party's dependable assistant in propaganda of its ideas and in the struggle for the shining ideals of the communist future of our great motherland and the implementation of the historic decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress.

* V.P. Yelyutin, minister of higher and secondary specialized education of the USSR: "The 26th CPSU Congress and the Tasks of an Improvement in the Student Youth's Ideological-Political, Occupational and Moral Training"

In the collectives of the higher and secondary specialized school, as in all the country's collectives, the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress have evoked a great patriotic and labor upsurge. The professors and lecturers, students, trainees and all VUZ and tekhnikum workers realize with all responsibility that each task put forward by the CPSU congress is also a task of the higher and secondary specialized school, which is called on to prepare personnel capable of the successful implementation of the magnificent plans of the party and the people.

The party's policy of the intensification of the economy and the integration of science and production is making increased demands on the entire activity of the VUZ's and tekhnikums and, particularly, on the quality of the professional training and the level of the ideological-political, occupational and moral education of specialists. In order for these increased demands to be realized in full there is much in the system of higher and secondary specialized education, as Comrade L.I. Brezhnev emphasized in the CPSU Central Committee Report to the 26th party congress, which can and needs to be improved. "I refer...," he said, "to the quality of teaching and the strengthening of ties to production. It is necessary to make fuller use of the scientific potential of the VUZ's, which concentrate almost half of our doctors and candidates of sciences. The demand for personnel of this speciality of the other is also changing together with the development of the economy. And, consequently, the system of planning the training of personnel in the VUZ's must react sensitively to these changes."*

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 60.

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These tasks, which concern the main and decisive aspect in the life of the higher and secondary specialized school, mark a qualitatively new stage in its development, when the system of education, together with other components of the national economy, is to embark firmly on the path of intensive development. Citing just the most general singularities of this stage, it should be emphasized primarily that the 1980's will be characterized by a stable and, as a whole, invariable scale of specialist training. Yet the national economy's need for personnel will continue to inevitably grow. Consequently, the higher and secondary specialized educational institutions must now find ways to satisfy the country's growing requirements through an increase in the quality of the training and an improvement in the assignment and use of specialists. Figuratively speaking, we are now obliged to train specialists such that each of them may do the work of two and, sometimes, three people.

The Soviet higher and secondary specialized school has now become a strong educational-scientific complex exerting a growing influence on all aspects of the life of the country. Approximately 10 million students and trainees are currently receiving tuition and 800,000 lecturers and research assistants are engaged in lecturing and research in 883 higher and 4,383 secondary specialized educational institutions. Training personnel in 450 specialties and 1,000 specializations, the VUZ's and tekhnikums dispatch their graduates into all components and all sectors of the national economy. Every year the country's enterprises and organizations receive a 2 million-strong replenishment of young specialists, over half of whom heads for the material production sphere. This ensures an unswerving improvement in the professional-qualifications structure of the working people corresponding to society's interests and requirements. It is sufficient to say that whereas in 1970 there were 196 specialists per 1,000 people in employment in the USSR, there are currently 223, and one out of every 10 workers now has higher education. More than half of all specialists are VUZ and tekhnikum graduates of the 1970's.

The higher and secondary specialized educational institutions are progressive centers of education, communist upbringing and the development of science and culture. There are currently universities and institutes in 340 of the country's cities, and each large-scale center of population has tekhnikums and colleges. Preparing a considerable proportion of the Soviet youth for work and social life, they also play a leading part in increasing the qualifications of specialists already at work and in the organization of the continuous education of personnel of all elements of the economy and participate actively in ideological and cultural-mass work among the population. The VUZ's contribution is no less impressive in the development of Soviet scientific thought also.

The main factor of the success of the entire multifaceted activity of the higher and secondary specialized school is the communist moral fiber and the high scientific qualifications and teaching skill of the lecturer collective. The well-organized system of lecturer personnel improvement created in the last decade provides for a continuous improvement in their professional training. Thanks to this, in the 10th Five-Year Plan 51 percent of the VUZ lecturer collectives was composed of lecturers with degrees and academic titles.

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The party organizations of the educational institutions, in whose ranks are 47.2 percent of VUZ lecturers, are the nucleus of the lecturer collectives. The combination of party-mindedness and scientific character in the activity of the lecturer personnel has converted it into a progressive and authoritative detachment of the country's scientific-pedagogical intelligentsia.

Nonetheless, it has to be acknowledged that the tasks of an increase in the efficiency of higher and secondary specialized education are as yet being tackled more slowly than required by the interests of the intensification of social production. Legitimate concern is caused by the fact that while possessing an approximately 30 million-strong army of specialists our national economy is not fully coping with the plan quotas with respect to the assimilation of new equipment and technology. The rate of labor productivity growth also has begun to lag behind the rate of the working people's increased qualifications in recent years. The shortage of personnel in a number of base sectors of the national economy and areas of the intensive development of the production forces has not been overcome. There is still unevenness in the level of development of higher education in different zones of the country, and the VUZ's of Siberia, the North and the Far East continue to experience an acute shortage of highly qualified lecturer personnel. Despite the overfulfillment of the plan quotas for the graduation of specialists, the plan of their state assignment was underfulfilled. We have not succeeded in reducing the unjustifiably long interval of time separating the scientific solution of this technical-economic problem or the other and the introduction of the data obtained by the scientists in economic practice.

These and other bottlenecks holding back an increase in the contribution of the higher and secondary specialized school to the country's progress are the consequence of a certain imbalance in the functioning of the educational-scientific and economic complexes. A considerable share of the responsibility both for the emergence and for the solution of this problem is borne by the higher and secondary specialized school itself, whose graduates, constituting the best-trained detachment of Soviet workers, have a decisive role in the organization of the activity of all production collectives and the development of ways to improve the economic mechanism.

Personnel and more personnel, their preparation for work and their attitude--such is the true key to the intensification of the economy on the basis of the integration of science and production. It is this which determines the exceptional urgency of the tasks of an improvement in the ideological-political, occupational and moral education of the student youth for the level of consciousness and life position of the specialists determine their professional and civic character and, consequently, the actual labor contribution of VUZ and tekhnikum graduates. And it is for this reason that the success of the entire struggle for the increased efficiency of education and its increased role in socioeconomic and scientific-technical progress now largely depend on successes in communist education.

The VUZ's and tekhnikums are struggling to build communism, tackling socio-economic problems with the resources of tuition and education and molding communist-minded, highly qualified personnel. It is natural, therefore, that

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the collectives of the higher and secondary specialized school have interpreted particularly responsibly the conclusion concerning the increased role of education in communist building formulated in the CPSU Central Committee decree "A Further Improvement in Ideological and Political Education".

Guided by a comprehensive approach to educational work, the lecturers and public organizations of the educational institutions have in recent years done much to increase the efficiency and quality of all areas of the educational process. The development of an integral system of the teaching of the social sciences has been completed in the VUZ's, thanks to which future speicalists at all stages of VUZ training assimilate the theory of scientific communism, constantly broaden their sociopolitical outlook and study the works of K. Marx, F. Engels and V. I. Lenin, CPSU documents and the works of L.I. Brezhnev and other party and state leaders in depth. The syllabi and textbooks on the social sciences have become more compact and apposite, and their content is concentrated on the urgent tasks of communist building.

The ideological-political conditioning of future specialists is organically combined with their occupational training. The students' main work is academic, and for this reason a place of paramount importance is assigned occupational training in the educational process. This is promoted by an improvement in the teaching, the utmost stimulation of studies and the introduction of progressive technical facilities in the educational process. There has also been a considerable improvement in the use of the great educational potential of the enlistment of the student youth in scientific-technical creativity. It is sufficient to say that approximately 2.5 million students currently participate in scientific research.

An important school of occupational training is production practice, in the course of which the students master a profession, working alongside workers of the foremost enterprises and establishments of the national economy. A leading place in the trainee youth's occupational training is occupied by the student detachments, in whose activity over 800,000 young men and women participate annually. The scale and importance of the economic tasks being tackled by the detachments, the organic combination of productive labor with mass-political work and the students' extensive independence in the organization of labor and social life in the detachments--all these have made them an effective instrument of the occupational and political conditioning of the new specialist shift.

The VUZ and tekhnikum collectives are striving purposefully for the fusion of ideological-political and ocupational training with moral training, contributing in every possible way to ensuring that the students' and trainees' knowledge in the sphere of the theory of Marxism-Leninism develop into profound convictions and asserting the principles of a communist attitude toward labor as an immutable moral norm determining the entire way of life of the student youth. The main element here is an increase in every possible way in the authority of honest and conscientious academic work and the consolidation in the educational collectives of an atmosphere of a genuine struggle for knowledge. A decisive factor of success is the inseparable unity of word and deed in the practice of tuition and education, the reliance of moral education on the public opinion of the collective, the extensive use

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in education of the force of example and the utmost development of the public-political assertiveness of the student youth.

This is why the social profession faculties and young lecturer schools, public-political practice and the Lenin Credit Test and the international friendship clubs have become an irreplaceable support in moral education. Contributing to the cultivation of an active life position, these and other forms of communist education help the future specialists master the complex art of the organizer and educator in the production collectives, inculcate in them the skills of mass-political work and contribute to their understanding of the meaning and significance of the struggle for communist morality as an important instrument of the reorganization of social life on the principles of communism.

The development and enrichment of the content, forms and methods of education in the higher and secondary specialized school required a strengthening of scientific leadership of the educational process. For this purpose uniform comprehensive long-term plans of the communist education of the student youth based on the entire period of the instruction of the future specialists were developed on the basis of the experience of the country's foremost VUZ's and tekhnikums and introduced everywhere in the 1970's. Implementing a comprehensive approach to education, these plans provide for the close interconnection of different areas of educational work and continuity in its content and methods at each stage of the specialists' training and envisage the concentration of educational measures on the key tasks of the student youth's ideological, occupational and civic development.

The integrity and efficacy of the system of communist education in the higher school are ensured by party leadership of the ideological life of the educational institutions. In the course of implementation of the CPSU Central Committee decrees "Work in the Moscow Higher Technical School Imeni N.E. Bauman and the Saratov State University Imeni N.G. Chernyshevskiy on Raising the Ideological-Theoretical Level of the Teaching of the Social Sciences" and "A Further Improvement in Ideological and Political Education" and the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "The Further Development of the Higher School and the Increased Quality of the Training of Specialists" the party committees increased their attention to the work of the social science departments, the formation of Komsomol activists and the implementation of educational measures in out-of-school hours. The ranks of communist-students are being strengthened. An increasingly important part is also being played by such a comparatively new area of party leadership of education as the selection and organization of the work of student academic group lecturer-curators. Where this task is being tackled at the proper level, the organic unity of the teaching and educational processes is guaranteed in practice, and the daily and multifaceted contacts of the lecturers and students exert a salutory influence on the development of the future specialists' ideological, practical and civic qualities.

Organization of the in-depth study and propaganda of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress is currently the leading element and core of educational work in the VUZ's and tekhnikums. Making the ideological riches formulated by the

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congress the property of each lecturer, each student and trainee and each worker of the VUZ and tekhnikum and conveying them to the minds and hearts of each member of the multimillion-strong collective of the higher and secondary specialized school--this is the nucleus of the educational program of the educational institutions, guided by which they will organize ideological work in the 11th five-year period. In order for this work to be directed into a single channel and for its maximum efficiency the appropriate methods instructions have been issued for the VUZ's and tekhnikums determining the organization and forms of the study of the material of the party congress and syllabi and instructional literature on the social sciences are being revised. These and other measures will make it possible to assimilate the congress' documents and decisions comprehensively and in depth and to be guided by them in the ideological, teaching-educational and scientific research activity of the educational institutions, their study, propaganda and fulfillment being organically combined.

The higher and secondary specialized school has accumulated vast experience of the communist education of the student youth. This makes it incumbent upon it to approach in a greatly critical spirit the exposure and removal of existing shortcomings and bottlenecks in educational work, pointing to which Comrade L.I. Brezhnev observed that "among certain young people education and knowledgeability sometimes coexist with political naivete and professional training with an insufficiently responsible attitude toward work."*

Speaking of the reasons for the unfinished business in education, we should put in first place an underestimation of the changes in the character of the younger generation which have occurred in recent years. It is a question of the fact that the process of the rise in the people's material and cultural living standard, which is salutory as a whole (and the consequences of this process in the youth environment are perceived both earlier and more strikingly than in the consciousness and behavior of other strata of the population), the high level of our youth's general development and the ever increasing flow of diverse information have made appreciably more complicated both the objective and subjective conditions of educational work in the higher and secondary specialized educational institutions.

Today's young generation gets, figuratively speaking, its knowledge of the clashes with the class enemy of the 1920's and the burdens of the war and the first postwar years from the bookshelf--it knows only from a distance those who with blood and deprivations defended and established socialism. This is why the higher and secondary specialized shcool, as the country's other educational establishments also, has in the next few years to implement a well-considered system of measures on the reorganization of a whole number of important areas and spheres of ideological work with the future specialists ensuing from the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress.

Our priority task is an increase in the effectiveness of ideological-political education. For this it is necessary for the teaching of the social sciences

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 67.

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and all educational work among the students and trainees to face the complex political, economic and moral problems of present-day life and the acute questions of the ideological struggle against views alien to socialism. Aggressiveness, assertiveness and a realistic approach and a close connection with the political, economic and social tasks of the day--such are the features which should impart efficacy and persuasiveness to the teaching of the social sciences.

A leading role in the increased ideological-political training of the student youth rightly belongs to the social science lecturers. Responsible for the ideological appearance of the new shift of the Soviet intelligentsia, they should stand out among lecturers of other disciplines in their pedagogical skill, have high political culture and know the art of persuasion to perfection. Measures are currently being implemented in a package in the light of these tasks for an improvement in the selection of university applicants for the philosophy, history of the CPSU, political economy and scientific communism specialties, a refinement of graduate work in these specialties and also for strengthening of the role of the social science lecturer improvement institutes as active centers of the collation and dissemination and the progressive experience of communist education.

Much has been and is being done. A highly skilled collective of lecturers of Marxism-Leninism, approximately 60 percent of whom are doctors and candidates of sciences, professors and assistant professors, has taken shape in the higher school as a whole. But the rate of improvement of the composition of the social science departments is still lagging behind available potential. Shortcomings in the selection of personnel, when, despite the fact that a considerable proportion of graduates of the leading universities and graduate students even in the social sciences remain without an official assignment, these departments in many centers of higher schooling are frequently filled by people lacking specialized training, serve as an impediment. And there are currently 4,000 such teachers out of the 32,000 in VUZ social science departments.

High political culture is a general requirement of all VUZ and tekhnikum lecturers, each of whom is obliged to reveal the world-outlook problems of his discipline from the standpoints of Marxism-Leninism and explain to the student youth the CPSU's domestic and foreign policy. Nor can we forget the determining role performed in the upbringing of future specialists by the personal example of the lecturer, particularly the purveyor of the profession which the young person is mastering.

Proceeding from this, purposeful work is being performed in the higher and secondary specialized school on a rise in the ideological-theoretical level of all lecturer personnel. The training of graduate students--future VUZ lecturers--in the sphere of the theory of Marxism-Leninism and urgent problems of the methodology of science has been intensified in recent years. Lecturers of all disciplines are supplementing their Marxist-Leninist education in improvement faculties. The training of VUZ and tekhnikum lecturers in universities of Marxism-Leninism is being stepped up in every possible way. In many educational institutions, like the Moscow State University, the Moscow

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Higher Technical School imeni N.E. Bauman and others, where the party committees have set the task of political education for every lecturer, the absolute majority (more than 90 percent) of pedagogical workers has already completed a full course of instruction in the universities of Marxism-Leninism. In accordance with the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, it is planned to continue to perfect the ideological training of the lecturer personnel, linking it more closely with the current tasks of the education of the student youth.

The party's policy of an increase in the efficiency and quality of work requires an improvement in the vocational training of the future specialists and the strengthening of education's ties to production. In the light of this it is planned to pay particular attention to an improvement in vocational and practical instruction as a main form of the occupational conditioning of the students and trainees. The revision of the standard syllabi and programs of studies which is currently under way and which is being conducted on the basis of the qualification characteristics of specialists revealing the demands made by production on their knowledge, skills and abilities is subordinated to the professionalization of education. The practical programs being newly formulated envisage each future specialist of the engineer-technical and other fields acquiring a worker's occupation in the educational institution. It is also necessary to increase discipline in the organization of practical instruction and put an end to the use of students and trainees in all kinds of auxiliary operation, which are frequently currently substituted for serious work in the field of the specialty being studied. To an increasingly large extent the VUZ's will shift the final stage of the personnel's training to production. This will be served by the work on the creation at the enterprises of branches of the core departments which has been initiated at the present time. The future specialists' timely assignment to a job, which we have begun to effect 1-3 years prior to the students' graduation from the VUZ, will also contribute to their in-depth "acclimatization" to production.

The strengthening of education's ties to economic practice is a leading means of the integration of science and production, which Comrade L.I. Brezhnev termed an urgent demand of the era. The said task will be tackled in the 1980's by proceeding from the main directions of the development of scientific research in the higher school at the current stage, which is characterized by the extensive use of the method of goal-oriented programs in the planning and organization of scientific work, the increased comprehensiveness of scientific subject matter and the concentration of attention on the speediest and extensive introduction in practice of the results obtained by scientists. Even today a whole number of comprehensive research programs in the sphere of the development of the oil and gas resources of West Siberia, the creation of robots and robot-engineering systems, energy savings and with respect to other important national economic problems is being developed by the forces of large-scale scientific collective uniting hundreds of lecturers and students from dozens of VUZ's.

A further important task of the communist education of the student youth which should occupy a more significant place in the syllabus of the educational institutions is the further development of the general cultural functions of

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education and the formation of the spiritual qualities of the specialists as representatives of the progressive Soviet intelligentsia. It would be no exaggeration to say that the education of the specialist as a true intellectual of the society of mature socialism is the quintessence of the entire cause of communist education in the higher school. It is a question of the unity of the sociopolitical, professional and spiritual makeup of the VUZ graduates, and for this reason problems of a world-outlook, ideological nature are closely interwoven with the tasks of the professional training of the personnel and its occupational, moral and aesthetic education. The main goal is to continue to cultivate our intelligentsia as part of the very flesh of the working class and kolkhoz peasantry and, imbibing the best traditions and traits of the Soviet people, ensure that our intelligentsia participate actively in communist building and tirelessly serve to multiply the spiritual wealth of all the people.

In the light of this it is necessary to perform a great deal of work on an improvement in the content and methods of teaching in the higher and secondary specialized education system and a strengthening of its fundamental and humanitarian basis. The inculcation in the student youth of a high culture of labor for the purpose of molding in the specialists an ability to organize their future professional activity in accordance with the laws of morality and beauty should be a subject of particular concern. And, of course, constant attention should be paid to the patriotic and international education of the specialists, the inculcation in them of strong immunity to bourgeois ideology and reformist and revisionist views and outlooks and the molding of the ability and aspiration to struggle aggressively against ideas alien to socialism. In a word, all-encompassing accelerated advance in all areas of the communist education of the student youth is essential.

The effectiveness of communist education in the VUZ's and tekhnikums is gaged by the occupational affairs of their graduates. A paramount condition of successful and creative labor is the rational use of personnel trained by the higher and secondary specialized school and the precision and justification of the plan-based leadership of their training and assignment fully in accordance with the requirements of the national economy. An improvement in planning in the training of specialists is also required by the demographic situation which has taken shape and the decline in the growth of labor resources. In the light of this it is planned to appreciably improve the methodology and practice of the plan-oriented control of the training of personnel and increase the flexibility of plan decisions with regard for the long-term prospects of the development of production, science, technology and culture. Particular attention will have to be paid to an improvement in the use of personnel directly in production, where, despite the shortage of workers with higher and secondary specialized education, the appointment of specialists to positions not requiring the qualifications they have obtained is permitted. This is a big economic, social and ideological problem since the incorrect use of specialists not only exerts a negative influence on the quality and end results of their labor but is also reflected in the moral-psychological climate in the young intelligentsia environment. This is why, together with the development of organizational and plan measures, party work and a party-minded exacting and critical analysis of the work with specialist personnel in production are essential here.

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Student years are among the most vivid and valuable periods in a person's life, when his spiritual and physical forces flourish, his professional calling is formed, his philosophy of life takes shape, his cultural outlook broadens and his convictions and moral principles acquire firmness. Leadership of the ideological, labor and moral development of the student youth is the main and most responsible business of the teaching collectives of the higher and secondary specialized school, which are called on to train specialists worthy of our remarkable era and true educators and organizers of the masses combining profound professional training with an active life position and communist consciousness and conviction with an enterprising, creative approach to matters.

The higher and secondary specialized school will graduate approximately 10 million specialists in the 11th Five-Year PLan. Today's students are to embark on labor in an exceptionally important period, when, as pointed out at the congress, the national economic structure will be created with which our country will enter the new millennium. This is why this must be the most progressive, best-trained and most convinced generation of specialists in the country's history. It is from such standpoints that the communist education of the student youth is approached by the VUZ and tekhnikum teaching collectives, which organize the entire educational process in the general channel of the CPSU's activity on ensuring the close unity of ideological-theoretical, political-educational, organizing and economic work.

The professors and lecturers, students, trainees and all workers of the higher and secondary specialized school, rallied around the Communist Party and its Leninist Central Committee, will exert every effort for the consistent and unswerving implementation of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and in order to raise to the level of the party's increased requirements the quality of the training and communist education of specialists.

* S.K. Tsvigun, first deputy chairman of the USSR KGB: "The Subversive Activity of the Special Services and Ideological Centers of the Imperialist States Against the USSR"

I

Under the leadership of the Leninist Communist Party the Soviet people are working selflessly on implementation of the decisions of the historic 26th CPSU Congress.

The congress and the report thereat of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and outstanding party and state figure of the present day, revealed yet another striking page in the heroic annals of communist building and the struggle for peace and people's happiness and was an important landmark in the history of the party and the Soviet society and an event of tremendous world-historical significance.

The 26th CPSU Congress convincingly showed once again the people's cohesion around the Communist Party and the unshakability of the unity of the party

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ranks. The congress emphasized with tremendous force the titanic, exceptionally fruitful activity to strengthen the economic and defense might of our motherland and increase the Soviet people's well-being of that loyal continuer of Lenin's cause and ardent fighter for communism and peace--Comrade L.I. Brezhnev.

Soviet Chekists and border guards, together with the entire party and the Soviet people, warmly approve the results of the 26th CPSU Congress. Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's report and the congress' documents are engendering a new surge of forces and creative energy and an ardent aspiration to selfless labor in the name of the triumph of communism.

The Chekists are grateful to the CPSU Central Committee, the Central Committee Politburo and Comrade L.I. Brezhnev personally for the constant attention to questions of an improvement in the attivity of the state security authorities in accordance with the requirements of the class struggle in the international arena and the present stage of the development of the Soviet society.

The 26th CPSU Congress was also of tremendous significance in the plane of comprehension of the complex problems of the current international situation and the ideological struggle between states of the two opposite social systems. As Comrade L.I. Brezhnev pointed out in the report, the current period is marked primarily by the intensive struggle of the two directions in world politics. On the one hand a policy of curbing the arms race, strengthening peace and the relaxation of international tension and defense of the sovereign rights and freedoms of the peoples, on the other, a policy of undermining detente, adding a twist to the arms race spiral, threats and interference in others' affairs and suppression of the liberation struggle.

The USSR's foreign policy has invariably been and continues to be of a fundamentally class nature. It is aimed at strengthening the positions of socialism, supporting the forces of the national liberation movement and social progress, ensuring peace and the security of the peoples and at preserving detente.

As is known, there was a sharp exacerbation of the international situation by the start of the 1980's through the fault of imperialism, primarily the United States. The aggressiveness of the imperialist states increased. The CPSU Central Committee Report to the 26th party congress revealed the deeplying causes of this extremely dangerous phenomenon connected with the process of the further intensification of the general crisis of capitalism and the growth of its profound intrinsic contradictions.

The calculations of the ruling circles of the imperialist countries that under detente conditions they would succeed in broadening on a greater scale the opportunities for undermining socialism from within via the ideological impact and by way of the implantation of "dissidence" bring about the ideological loosening of Soviet society and shake its sociopolitical and ideological unity were unfounded.

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Under these conditions the most reactionary imperialist circles headed by the United States resolved to return to the "from a position of strength" policy. They truly set themselves the goal of achieving the unattainable--erecting a barrier in the way of the progressive changes in the world and restoring to themselves the role of arbiter of the peoples' fate.

Imperialist propaganda is attempting to explain the causes of the exacerbation of the international situation by various far-fetched pretexts: the so-called military threat on the part of the Soviet Union, its "interference" in Afghanistan, violation of the Helsinki accords and now--support for international terrorism. But the whole world knows that this is far from being the case. In the United States the tilt toward an exacerbation of relations with the Soviet Union began long before the events in Afghanistan. It is interesting to note in this connection that in the first days of April 1981 the Hoover Institute of War, Revolution and Peace attached to Stanford University published a lengthy "study," of almost 900 pages, titled "The United States in the 1980's". The purpose of this publication, which was prepared by one of the leading centers of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism in the United States, was, according to its authors, "to treat and analyze the main domestic and international problems which will confront the United States in the current decade."

The anti-Sovietism of the Beijing leaders is joining up increasingly with imperialist policy. The imperialists are contributing to the provision of China's army with modern arms and encouraging its hegemonist designs in respect of adjacent states. The Chinese leaders openly set themselves the goal of, as RENMIN RIBAO wrote, "preventing, undermining and frustrating everything that the Soviet Union is attempting to do in any part of the world."

R. Reagan's first months as President are reason to believe that he and those closest to him in the person of Secretary of State A. Haig, Defense Secretary C. Weinberger, CIA Director W. Casey and other representatives of the U.S. Administration, which are an instrument in the hands of the U.S. military-industrial complex, view the world through the sights of a tank.

We are witnessing the birth of a new American doctrine of the building of East-West mutual relations the essence of which is to closely link all aspects of mutual relations with the Soviet Union in the political, economic, military and other spheres with the so-called "line of behavior of the USSR in the world". Ignoring the facts of the USSR's huge role in world development, the White House bosses intend to "warn" Moscow in advance, threatening punishment for any actions which do not suit the West. In the development of this adventurist doctrine the Pentagon is persistently engaged in the development of the problem of the influence of military factors on the further development of relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The Reagan Administration links the implementation of this program with a course aimed at undermining detente policy, a resumption of the cold war, a continued arms buildup, confrontation with the Soviet Union, an intensification of all forms of subversive activity and attempts to split the unity of the socialist countries and bring about the degeneration of socialist relations into capitalist relations from within.

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II

The Reagan Administration's policy of the exacerbation of the international situation is being accompanied by a sharp stimulation of all forms of the secret subversive activity of imperialism against the USSR and other socialist countries. The huge propaganda machinery and the bitter attacks of international reaction are being used in the interests of the realization of the political goals and tasks of the reactionary forces of imperialism. In the confrontation with the world of socialism and communism the ruling circles of the imperialist countries assign an important role to their intelligence and other special services. Under the conditions of the absence of open military confrontation these services represent imperialism's main strike force in subversive activity against the USSR and other socialist countries.

The current role of the special services in the mechanism of American foreign policy is graphically illustrated by a U.S. National Security Council directive, according to which "the government's open foreign policy activity should be supplemented with secret operations.... Such secret operations will include, inter alia, propaganda measures; political actions; economic warfare; preventive subversive operations; sabotage; blowing up important facilities; the organization of escapes; assistance to underground resistance movements--partisans and immigrant resistance groups; support for anticommunist elements in countries of the free world threatened by communism; disinformation and other measures contributing to the achievement of our goals."

This concentrated action program of America's special services is being actively carried out in practice. As described by the American press, secret operations are divided into two main categories. The absolute majority of them are small-scale operations regularly carried out by CIA fixed-post spies in whatever country, mainly through a network of agents. The second category is a program of big secret operations directed against the holding of democratic elections, at the ouster of popular regimes, mercenary invasions and arms and ammunition supplies. Incidentally, this direction was employed most extensively in the organization back in 1978 by American intelligence of the undeclared war against the people of Afghanistan, which continues to this day.

The leadership of American intelligence attaches great significance to the concealment of secret operations and the murders of political opponents. The journalist L. Gonzalez's interview published in the American PLAYBOY magazine entitled "Mr Death" with a specialist in explosives, poisons and firearms who had worked with the CIA for approximately 20 years, developing, on its orders, methods and means for sabotage-terrorist activity, is interesting in this respect. This person declared: "The CIA asked me to develop some methods and means of physical extermination. Practically everything on which I worked was intended for murder. I was involved in the three main methods of killing people: special firearms, explosives and poisons. The CIA wishes to have special means causing certain death, but without indications that they were of American production."

A wave of anger on the part of the world public was caused by the proliferation of such secret CIA operations as work in the sphere of thought control,

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which includes the use of drugs, hypnosis, electric shock and the deprivation of sensitivity by various methods to control man's behavior. Many American convicts and people taken from the streets who did not suspect that sinister experiments would be conducted on them were the victims of these barbaric acts. Certain American public organizations which form a coalition which advocates a new U.S. foreign policy reported that in the last 25 years the CIA has put into effect 149 plans for thought control, having maimed hundreds of people here.

Thus the whole complex of large-scale measures for an improvement in the work of America's special services being implemented by the U.S. Administration is increasing their role as the main strike force of imperialism still further.

Occupying a special place in the mechanism of the imperialist countries, the special services are under the leadership and control of the heads of state and government. Back at the time of the election campaign Reagan, for example, declared repeatedly that in the event of his election as president, he would first of all take the most effective steps to strengthen the United States' intelligence mechanism. And whereas many other of Reagan's demagogic election promises, mainly in the social sphere, remain on paper, in the sphere of an increase in subversive activity against the Soviet Union he is keeping his word.

Having assumed presidential office, Reagan began to implement a package of organizational-structural measures aimed at a considerable increase in the CIA's role and an extension of its powers and possibilities. Thus there has been an appreciable increase in the CIA's role in the sphere of the formulation and implementation of foreign policy decisions in the recently established new system of interdepartmental coordination.

It is interesting to note that a well-known reactionary--Sen B. Goldwater--has become the new chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee and that Reagan has appointed CIA director and member of the presidential cabinet one of his closest collaborators--W. Casey.

In WWII Casey was chief of secret intelligence of the theater of military operations under General Eisenhower. From 1969 through 1977 he was a member of a whole number of presidential commissions, including a consultative council on intelligence, the organization of foreign policy and others. In his speech to the special Senate committee Casey declared that he intended to step up CIA activity in furnishing the United States with intelligence information. He called for the avoidance of "new upheavals in the CIA" and for "limitations on the activity of the intelligence department to be reduced to a minimum."

Addressing the Senate Intelligence Committee, Casey declared that the "Reagan Administration intends to use the intelligence authorities as an effective instrument for carrying out its foreign policy acts." He emphasized that so-called secret operations abroad would be given priority in the activity of American intelligence and spoke of his intention to grant the agents more rights and powers in carrying out such acts, without having coordinated them in advance with the central machinery.

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Following Casey, the leaders of the other special services in the United States spoke in public at the sign from the conductor's baton. They all expressed their thoughts concerning the most important tasks of the American intelligence service for the coming decade. Thus Lt Gen E. Tighe, director of the Defense Intelligence Agency, declared that military intelligence had to streamline its work, react promptly to the new requirements which are emerging and increase efforts in the evaluation of the USSR's military potential and ascertainment of its orders of battle and new types of weapons. B. Inman, director of the National Security Agency, which deals, mainly, with technical intelligence, observed that to ensure the best intelligence support for the highest echelons of both executive and legislative authority it is essential, as before, to keep in the focus of intelligence activity all questions of long-term planning of strategic importance to the United States. The army, navy and air force intelligence chiefs expressed themselves in the same spirit.

Following these statements came the routine increase in appropriations for the activity of all subdivisions of American intelligence. The regular personnel was strengthened by way of the enlistment of a large number of specialists in the spheres of international relations, economics and warfare, and experienced intelligence agents who had earlier been dismissed were rehired.

The leadership of American intelligence is making efforts to improve interaction with the intelligence services of other imperialist states. Thus CIA Director W. Casey visited Japan in March 1981. During talks with the prime minister he discussed, inter alia, the possibility of a stepping up of Japan's intelligence activity in the Far East and the Southeast Asian countries and also ways to coordinate the intelligence efforts of the United States and Japan in this region. Commenting on the results of the visit, American observers note that "the first official overseas trip of the new CIA director even testifies to the Reagan Administration's intention to appreciably increase the role of American intelligence and Casey personally in the formulation and implementation of U.S. foreign policy."

Britain is improving its intelligence services. Financial appropriations for intelligence needs are increasing from year to year. Thus whereas in 1979 they amounted to 34.5 million pounds and 53 million in 1980, some 61 million pounds are being allocated in 1981.

West German intelligence has stepped up its activity considerably. This espionage department's 25th anniversary was recently solemnly celebrated in Bonn. In a speech on this occasion Chancellor H. Schmidt mentioned the services of West German intelligence and declared that the FRG's well-being depends on its activity.

The increased interaction of the work of the Western countries' special services is being accompanied by an increase in the organizing role of U.S. intelligence, particularly in the coordinating centers of NATO intelligence in London and Istanbul.

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III

In connection with the military preparations the United States is attempting to develop its intelligence activity along a broad front, taking advantage of all legal and illegal opportunities and operating both on the territory of the socialist countries and in the United States itself and also in third countries.

A principal form of this subversive activity is espionage. Enemy intelligence is making big efforts to collect information on the economic, political and moral readiness of the USSR peoples to withstand the possible trials of a thermonuclear war and a sharply increased arms race and also information of a political nature on the USSR's plans and positions concerning urgent international problems, relations with the socialist and developing countries, the situation inside our country, relations among the USSR peoples, the population's living standard, the work of the party and soviet authorities and public organizations and their executives and the consequences of the measures adopted by the U.S. Administration to freeze trade-economic and scientific-technical relations with the Soviet Union.

The enemy attaches particular significance to scouting military and industrial facilities which it regards as priority targets of a nuclear strike. The intelligence services' interest in a study of the system of the USSR's internal security is noted. American intelligence has given its agents the assignment of collecting all information on the role and activity of the judicial, prosecutor's office, state security and internal affairs authorities.

Increased interest is being displayed in the achievements of Soviet science and technology. Intelligence is confronted directly with the task of "not missing the Soviet Union's possible surprise move ahead in the sphere of science and technology." Rivalry in the sphere of science and technology, as an American intelligence officer put it, "is turning laboratories and proving grounds into a most important theater of the intelligence agencies' operations."

As is known, the stations operating under the cover of embassies and other official representations in the USSR are nests of espionage in our country. Their intelligence activity increases with every passing year.

The military intelligence agents, who are endeavoring to obtain data on the concentration and deployment of military units, special shipments and other measures of the USSR Defense Ministry brought about, they believe, by the events in Iran, Afghanistan and Poland, are particularly active. In seeking intelligence information visually the United States' military intelligence officers frequently operate in open violation of the norms of movement around the country and photography determined for foreigners, attempting to penetrate closed zones and to facilities of interest to them.

Thus in January 1981 the American military intelligence officers Holbrooke and Spencer set off for a tour of the Ukraine. They were drawn most to the republic's western regions. Having with them the latest electronic intelligence apparatus, they attempted with the help of various subterfuges to

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penetrate areas directly bordering on Poland and to collect information on the deployment of our military units and their operations. The intelligence officers were interested in the state of the roads and their traffic capacity. But their contemplated plans were not to be since local residents made the foreigners' impermissible actions known to the organs of power.

Giddens and Kramer, assistant U.S. air and naval attaches, were recently arrested attempting to carry out visual reconnaissance of a Tashkent plant. Subsequently, on a trip to this same city [Dzhetri] and [Makkolin], employees of the air attache's office, made a flagrant attempt to carry out a reconnaissance act: they crossed the city's cemetery, approached the plant wall and climbed over it into the enterprise grounds, whence they were thrown out by the workers.

Military intelligence agents make active use of the latest special portable apparatus in the region of facilities connected with the production and operation of radio emission systems. Despite the failure of an operation using Electron-type equipment (this was reported in our press), the American military intelligence agents have not abandoned the use of the latest technical intelligence planting resources in places of interest to them. To remind you: the Electron system is a means of radio engineering intelligence which under a variety of camouflages (in the form of pine tree stump, say) can be installed at a distance of several kilometers from the emitting facility and is capable of intercepting its emissions and then on command "firing" this information to a satellite or other receiving device.

The special services attach great significance to an increase in secret agent intelligence on our territory. Following the exposure of enemy spies in recent years, the enemy has been carefully studying the causes of his failures and taking steps for more reliable encoding and securing the actions of his secret agents.

Aware that there is no social base for the recruitment of agents in the USSR, the intelligence officers are gambling on individual anti-Soviet, nationalist elements and politically unstable persons or moral degenerates with a bent for unearned income and a parasitical way of life.

The majority of the enemy's recruitment attempts ends in failure. But sometimes, unfortunately, the enemy succeeds in recruiting some person or another. An end was put recently to the espionage activity of Radzhabov, an engineer at a Baku institute. This morally corrupt subject was a heavy drinker, had fallen into debt, had never been interested in the political life of the country, was distinguished by his love of gain and hated everything Soviet. As part of a tourist group in a European country, he called on the U.S. Embassy there and asked for help in getting to the United States. During his talk with an American diplomat Radzhabov passed on information known to him of a political and military nature. But the diplomat declared that "travel to the United States has to be earned" and suggested that Radzhabov cooperate with American intelligence. He agreed and was recruited. Having stipulated a method of communication, the American instructed Radzhabov to collect information on the situation in the areas bordering Iran and the possible transfer of military units there. Upon his return home Radzhabov set about

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fulfilling the espionage assignments, but was soon exposed and sentenced to 13 years' imprisonment. Nilov, Filatov and other agents of American intelligence were also exposed and sentenced.

For sending agents into our country the enemy makes active use, as before, of tourist, scientific-technical and cultural channels. Several foreigners who had availed themselves of these channels for intelligence penetration were arrested in 1980, and approximately 50 were expelled from the USSR.

The tendency of the enemy to make more extensive use in subversive work against our country of foreign specialists engaged in contract supervision at Soviet enterprises is observed. The majority of foreign specialists performs its duties conscientiously. Businesslike cooperation, mutual understanding and mutual assistance are being established between them and Soviet workers, and this is contributing to the expansion of the USSR's trade-economic relations with other countries. But instances have been determined of agents sent in among these specialists engaging not only in espionage but also damage to equipment, the incorrect assembly of transfer lines and components, delaying the startup of equipment and so forth.

Thus the Japanese citizen Susumu, who was working in our country as an administrator of a group of specialists of the Japanese [Toyo] Engineering Corporation, was expelled from the Soviet Union last year for engaging in hostile activity. He was involved in collecting intelligence information, enlisting other Japanese specialists in this. Susumu had a special questionnaire pertaining to the collection of economic and sociopolitical information and kept a record of the political situation in the USSR and the state of public security, industrial enterprises and various state and public organizations.

Major damage to fastening bolts of the frame of a unit made especially at the manufacturer-plant which could have led to its breakdown at the time of commissioning were discovered in equipment supplied by an American firm.

It should be said that sometimes certain employees of our establishments and enterprises maintain nonbusiness relations with foreigners and notify them of the Soviet side's interest in acquiring equipment and raw materials, the proposals of competing firms and impending deals. Instances have been revealed of certain Soviet specialists familiarizing foreigners with documents of a secret nature.

Recently the United States, Japan, the FRG and other NATO countries have been implementing wide-ranging measures to step up technical intelligence. Since the spring of 1979 the American special services have been using three different visual reconnaissance satellites simultaneously—the [Semos, Lasp] and 1010—which make it possible to obtain more accurate photographic data on arms and defense equipment, the capacity of the enterprises manufacturing them, the sites of military facilities and special transportation. There are data on the start of the U.S.special services' intensive development of a new system of radioelectronic surveillance with the use of artificial Earth satellites in geostationary orbit. This system is to replace the lost opportunities for conducting reconnaissance from Iranian territory.

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The USSR's state security authorities are also working on putting a stop to smuggling and currency speculation, which are frequently inspired from abroad and connected with the embezzlement of state property and the definite economic damage inflicted thereby on our country.

Attempts at contraband imports of commodities from abroad are not abating. Attempts to export from the Soviet Union large sums of Soviet money, precious metals, works of art and antiquities also continue.

At the end of last year, for example, an end was put to the smuggling activity of two groups headed by El'gart, chief of the USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy Worker Supply Administration Repository and photographic artist Presnyakov. Through their accomplices chosen from a number of persons with previous convictions the said persons bought up ancient icons and antiquities in the USSR and dispatched them with the help of certain diplomats to West Berlin and the FRG to antique store owners. The criminals received from abroad in the same way Soviet money and industrial commodities in short supply for speculation and new purchases of items of contraband. Various valuables which were ready to be dispatched to the West worth R1.5 million were confiscated from the smugglers. In addition, 20 home-made small-caliber pistols fitted with silencers were confiscated.

The investigation into the case of a group of currency smugglers and brilliant and diamond thieves, who, taking advantage of the inadequate supervision of the safekeeping of precious stones in the production process, embezzled R12 million worth thereof, concluded in December 1980. In the course of the investigative measures currency and other valuables worth R7 million, including the confiscation of R4.5 million worth of brilliants from Kazakov, the organizer of these thefts, alone, were returned to the state.

IV

Provocations against Soviet establishment and citizens abroad remain active forms of the subversive activity of the imperialist states' special services.

Soviet citizens are worthy representatives of their motherland in the capitalist world. For the purpose of creating difficulties for Soviet establishments and citizens abroad the special services of the imperialist states and certain developing countries of a pro-West orientation continue to inspire charges against them of their engaging in impermissible activity. Thus in March-start of April 1981 such actions were carried out against workers of Soviet establishments in Norway, the Netherlands, Spain, Austria, Iran, Nigeria and Liberia.

A form of hostile work against Soviet citizens abroad performed by the special services of the enemy, primarily the United States and Britain, is attempts to recruit them and persuade them into not returning to the motherland. Thus in March 1981 in London the British special services made an attempt to recruit a technician of the USSR Embassy in Britain. In February the American special services attempted to persuade V.V. Belyayev, an employee of the UN Secretariat in New York, not to return to the motherland.

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The galvanization of activity against Soviet establishments and citizens abroad by various hostile organizations and elements is continuing in an atmosphere of the kindling of anti-Sovietism. Provocative demonstrations are being regularly organized in a number of capitalist countries at Soviet establishments to put psychological pressure on Soviet people. Over 130 such anti-Soviet mob gatherings in various countries were recorded in the first 3 months of 1981 alone.

Hostile elements are continuing to practice such particularly dangerous acts as the organization of arson, explosions and firing at Soviet offices. There are numerous instances of hooligan escapades in respect of Soviet establishments and their employees, anonymous letters and telephone calls with various threats and demands.

Particular concern is caused by the situation in the United States, where acts against Soviet representatives and members of their families have assumed the nature of an extensively organized extremist campaign flouting not only the standards of international law but also elementary principles of humanity.

At the end of March 1981 in Athens certain persons blew up the automobile belonging to the USSR Commercial Representation, which was parked outside the office building. Upon a police inspection of other cars of the Soviet establishment, three other explosives were detected and rendered harmless.

The absolute majority of Soviet citizens abroad is fittingly rebuffing the provocateurs and frustrating all the enemy's attempts to damage our country.

V

The imperialist countries long since also adopted such a form of subversive activity against the USSR as ideological sabotage. But new trends in the tactics of its implementation have been manifested in recent years and an endeavor to extend its scale and to impart a greater intensity of anti-Sovietism and extremism to the hostile acts is observed. Comrade L.I. Brezhnev drew attention to this particularly in the report at the 26th CPSU Congress, observing that under current conditions "there has been an increase in the assertiveness of the propaganda media of the class enemy and a strengthening of its attempts to exert a corrupting influence on Soviet people's minds."*

The purpose of ideological sabotage is to weaken and loosen the socialist system. It is undertaken by special media and specially organized services, constructed wholly and fully on lies and the most flagrant distortion of the facts and often represents direct interference in the socialist countries' internal affairs.

As a form of subversive activity, ideological sabotage has two main directions.

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 75.

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The first is subversive propaganda with the use of radio, the press and verbal propaganda.

The second is intelligence-organizational subversive activity aimed at the creation in our country of every conceivable legal and underground hostile group for struggle against the existing system, leadership of them and their political, moral and material support.

The plans of ideological sabotage are extensive and have a far-reaching aim: loosening the internal social-political foundations of the socialist countries; weakening the leading role of the communist parties and their influence in the masses; "eroding" communist ideology and implanting a bourgeois world outlook; and, finally, disorganizing the socialist countries' political and economic life for the purpose of reviving capitalist practices.

Ideological sabotage is aimed against the ideological-political unity of the working people of the socialist countries, a weakening of the alliance of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and the intelligentsia, compromising socialist nationality policy, counterposing nonparty people to the communists and young people to the elder generations and blunting the patriotism, class consciousness and political vigilance of the working people. Our class enemy is aware here that under the conditions of the Soviet people's moral-political unity and their close cohesion around the Communist Party there is no social basis in our country on which the special services and ideological centers of imperialism might rely. Nonetheless, despite this, a considerable place in the subversive endeavors of the ideological saboteurs is occupied by a quest within the country for individual political renegades, anti-Soviet, nationalist-minded persons and apolitical people and attempts to involve them in the struggle against the Soviet state and Soviet society.

The main organizer and performer of ideological sabotage is the United States, where this activity has become an organic part of foreign policy, and the special services consider their participation therein just as important as espionage.

The main diversionary-propaganda organ of the United States is the ICA, which was created on 1 April 1978 (in place of the abolished USIA). Its activity is under the personal control of the President. With the creation of this agency the U.S. Administration concentrated in single hands all the channels of U.S. foreign policy propaganda--radio broadcasting, the press, the shooting and precentation abroad of motion pictures and television films, the publication of periodicals, brochures and books, the organization of exhibitions abroad, leadership of the so-called cultural centers and libraries, the organization of English language courses and so forth.

The new agency is organizing its activity with regard for the administration's directive that "the main audience for American propaganda lives in the Soviet Union and the East European countries."

The enemy special services and the West's reactionary circles continue to gamble in acts of ideological sabotage against the Soviet Union and the socialist community countries, in addition to the use of the state authorities,

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on various emigre nationalist formations and Zionist organizations (Amnesty International, the NTS, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, renegades from the Soviet Baltic, Central Asian, Trans-Caucasian republics and so forth). Over 400 anti-Soviet centers, organizations, committees and groups operate against our country altogether.

The main content of the ideological sabotage is large-scale political acts to compromise the USSR's foreign and domestic policy. Attempts are made, inter alia, under the direct leadership of the American special services to conduct anti-Soviet measures on an international scale. Attempts by the special services to directly urge overseas nationalist organizations and Zionist centers into joint actions on an anti-Soviet platform are noted.

The gathering of the so-called World Congress of Free Ukrainians, which has set itself the goal of outlining a general program of subversive operations not only of Ukrainian but also Belorussian, Lithuanian, Lettish and Estonian Zionist and other anti-Soviet emigre organizations and also attracting the attention of the world public to the alleged violations of the Helsinki accords in the Soviet Union, may serve as a typical example.

The scale and tactics of ideological sabotage change depending on the international atmosphere and situations taking shape in the world. The enemy's subversive activity at the time of the preparation and holding of the Moscow Olympics was a striking illustration of this. U.S. reactionary circles unleased a furious campaign aimed at discrediting and boycotting the Olympics. At the same time they made active preparations for extensive subversive activity on USSR territory.

The enemy special services and foreign subversion centers enlisted more than 50 anticommunist formations, including large-scale emigre, nationalist, Zionist, clerical and extremist organizations, in anti-Olympic activity.

Together with this the enemy employed the possibilities of its propaganda machinery on an unprecedented scale in hostile activity against the USSR. More than 300 extremist terrorist organizations were trained to carry out hostile acts in connection with the Olympic games. A gamble was also made on the stimulation of antisocial elements in the USSR at the time of the Olympics. And, indeed, under the influence of the enemy special services certain anti-Soviet persons planned to carry out hostile acts during the Olympics.

The danger of the concentrated strike conceived of by the enemy was that the hostile acts at the Olympics were to have been carried out on a limited territory in a short interval of time, but in view of the whole world. But the enemy's plans were frustrated. In accordance with the requirements of the CPSU Central Committee, a system of measures was counterposed to his aspirations which made it possible to totally paralyze the hostile activity. No subversive acts of any significance were permitted at the time of the Olympics on USSR territory.

But the ideological saboteurs have not benefited from this lesson either.

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As soon as the Moscow Olympics were over, U.S. Zionist organizations embarked on the development of plans to use the forthcoming Olympic Games in Los Angeles to instigate an anti-Soviet campaign in the country around the so-called "question of the position of Jews in the USSR". Thus a decision was adopted at a meeting of the Los Angeles Council of Jewish Organizations to conduct demonstrations at the time of the 1984 Olympics at the places of residence of the USSR sports delegation, hand Soviet sportsmen anti-Soviet literature and letters of provocative content and send groups of Zionists to the competitions with the mission of "creating a nervous atmosphere when Soviet sportsmen are performing".

A concentrated anti-Soviet campaign was unleashed at the time of the preparation and during the 26th party congress. VOA, the BBC, radios Liberty and Free Europe and others presented a special series of broadcasts for this purpose prepared by Western Sovietologists and renegades who have left the USSR.

The increased activeness of foreign hostile centers was noticed at the time of the 26th CPSU Congress in the dispatch to the USSR under the guise of tourists of their own emissaries with assignments to inspire antisocial acts and also collect and bring out tendentious and slanderous information for its subsequent use in inciting an anti-Soviet campaign in the West. Particular activeness was displayed by Zionist organizations of the United States, Britain, France, Holland and Sweden. Thus it was revealed that [Lyulen] and Bayer, who were among tourists from a West European country visiting Moscow in February 1981, were attempting to collect and take out of the USSR slanderous material discrediting the activity of various Soviet official establishments. [Smukler], a functionary of the "National Conferance in Defense of Soviet Jews," had been sent to the USSR on a similar assignment from the United States the same month. As a result of the steps that were taken the said material was discovered on the foreigners upon their departure from the USSR and confiscated.

Recently all the bourgeois press organs and ideological sabotage centers have begun to actively spread the U.S. Administration's monstrous fabrication concerning the Soviet Union's involvement in international terrorism and concerning the USSR's leadership of terrorist organizations in the West even. This lie is intended not only to justify the United States' international plunder; it pursues the goal of evoking unhealthy sentiments in some Soviet citizens, sowing doubts in them as to the humaneness of our policy and attempting to push individual anti-Soviet elements into the use of methods of extremism and terror.

Evidence that the U.S. Administration has raised the accusation against the Soviet Union of international terrorism to the level of official policy is an ICA guideline sent to its overseas offices in February 1981. It observes, inter alia, that the USSR is rendering financial assistance and supplying weapons to the PLO; assisting in every possible way Cuba and Libya, which allegedly support various organizations which have declared terrorism the main method of their activity; helping so-called national liberation movements

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which employ terrorist methods; conducting foreign propaganda encouraging the activity of international terrorists; and is persistently publicizing armed struggle as an effective instrument of the solution of regional problems.

The new slogan concerning terrorism does not replace but merely supplements other areas of subversive acts against the USSR. Hostile new organizations are being created, congresses and conferences of an anti-Soviet thrust are being convened and the work of the subversive radio stations is being adjusted in the West. Thus the congress of the "Coalition for a Free Russia," whose participants appealed to the Reagan Administration for an even tougher policy in respect of the USSR, was held at the end of February 1981 in New York. In March, again in New York, the "Russian Emigre Writers' Association" was created with the support of U.S. special services whose purpose was formally proclaimed to be the unification of Russian writers' efforts for the preservation of national traditions and the extensive dissemination of their works in the United States. In fact, however, the organization is aimed at the creation and dissemination of literature of an antisocialist nature.

An organization which openly calls itself the "Center for Leadership of the Democratic Movement in the Socialist Countries" has been created at Oxford University in Britain.

The BBC Board of Governors decided as of the end of March 1981 to step up by 30 minutes the daily broadcasting time in Russian for listeners in the USSR. The leaders of radios Liberty and Free Europe are increasing broadcasting time to the Soviet Central Asian and Trans-Caucasian republics for the purpose of stirring up pan-Islamic and anti-Soviet sentiments.

The enemy endeavors to avail himself of channels of cultural, scientific and tourist exchange for sending special service agents and emissaries, functionaries and communications specialists of foreign subversion centers and organizations to our country with assignments to establish illegal contacts with hostile elements, incite them to acts of provocation and inspire politically harmful manifestations. Among the foreigners who visited the USSR in 1980 as members of tourist groups and scientific and cultural delegations were detected several hundred emissaries of foreign subversion centers, many of whom were exposed and expelled from the country, as reported in the press.

Until recently the enemy gambled mainly in the organization of subversive work within our country on individual persons from the number of hostile Soviet citizens demonstrating under the flag of a revision of our political and ideological institutions who called themselves different-minded or "dissidents" and who advertised themselves as "defenders of the law" and "fighters for democracy". His main calculations here were built on the quest for and discovery among them of a leader or several leaders who would be capable of embarking on the path of active confrontation with the Soviet power and rallying antisocial and other hostile elements for organized struggle against the socialist system.

As a result of the measures adopted by the KGB, which were implemented strictly in accordance with the law and under the leadership of the party authorities, the antisocial elements were not successful, despite the considerable

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material and moral support of the West, in achieving organized cohesion on a platform of anti-Sovietism. Their appeal for a revision of Soviet political and ideological institutions not only did not receive any support from the Soviet public but encountered angry condemnation. A stop was put to the unlawful activity of the antisocial elements, and criminal proceedings were instituted against the most active of them. This improved the climate to a considerable extent, brought about the bewilderment of the hostile elements and exerted a restraining influence on their fellow thinkers.

Explanatory and educational work has been and continues to be performed with persons who have gone astray. The state security authorities rely constantly here on the assistance of the Soviet public and are extending and strengthening ties to the masses.

Lacking social support in the Soviet society and having been exposed, the antisocial elements ultimately degenerated into a small closed group without any single ideological platform and action program.

Having understood that their gamble on antisocial elements had lost, the imperialist special services and foreign anti-Soviet centers embarked on a feverish search for new tactical methods and tricks. Without conclusively rejecting the "defenders of the law" and "champions of democracy," they are attempting to have an inflammatory impact in different social groups of the USSR population. There has been an increase, for example, in the enemy's speculation on the temporary difficulties being encountered in places in supplies to the population of certain foodstuffs and also on shortcomings in the organization of medical and consumer services for the working people. There has recently been an extension of acts to kindle emigration sentiments not only among the Jewish, German and Armenian population but also among believers and attempts to persuade the latter to leave the USSR on religious grounds. The leaders of Ukrainian nationalist organizations abroad are beginning to talk increasingly persistently about Ukrainians' "right to emigrate" from the USSR.

Against the background of the generally increased assertiveness of clericalism the enemy's gamble on the use of the clergy and the most fanatical believers has increased. Vatican activity in support of illegal Uniate groupings and encouragement of the extremism of the hostile part of the Catholic clergy have assumed a more manifest anti-Soviet thrust. Reactionary foreign Islamic organizations and centers of ideological sabotage have stimulated the use of Islam as a means of destabilizing the situation in the Central Asian and Trans-Caucasian republics and increased propaganda of pan-Turkism and pan-Islamism, taking advantage of the events in Iran and Afghanistan for this.

An important place in the sphere of the enemy's subversive endeavors is occupied by the youth. An American ideologist declared: We must influence Soviet youth in such a way as to ensure that there be no new Matrosov's, Koshev's and Kosmodem'yanskiy's in the USSR in the event of the outbreak of war. Typical in this respect is a document called "Guidance for the Organization of Political Radio Broadcasts of the Radio Liberty Committee". It sets

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the goal, inter alia, of "evoking in Soviet youth irritation with surrounding reality and putting it in a state of anger and despair. People will inevitably come to light in this atmosphere," the document says, "who will be ready for acts of self-sacrifice and who will realize the need for plan-based, painstaking work on the preparation of cardinal changes."

Subtle methods of influencing different categories of the youth are sought; anticommunist and antisocialist fabrications are dressed up in fashionable theoretical clothing. The so-called theories of the youth's "exclusive" role in the modern world, the "autonomous individual," the need for "an improvement and democratization of the Soviet model of socialism," "democracy without shores" and so forth are propagandized.

In a number of instances the enemy succeeds in exerting a negative influence on certain unstable young people. In a number of cities of the country individual juveniles and young people are attempting to form groups based on a fascination with "pop music" and the "Western way of life" and are perpetrating hooligan and other antisocial acts. Some enter into criminal relations with foreigners.

A new method is the enemy's endeavor to implant in our country the religious-mystical groups which abound in the West (Church of the Prophet, White Fraternity, Krishna Consciousness Society and so forth). Propaganda of the proposition of so-called parallel structures, which is aimed at the creation, together with official public associations and organizations of the working people and as a counterweight to them, of amateur "unions," "societies," "clubs," "theaters" and "seminars" of antisocial elements, is being stepped up.

Armed with the decisions of the 26th party congress, the state security authorities are adopting decisive measures to frustrate the enemy's acts of ideological sabotage.

VI

Despite imperialism's tremendous expenditure of material and human resources, the organizersof subversive activity will never succeed in achieving the set goals. All the enemy's vain attempts are being smashed on the Soviet people's indestructible unity and their cohesion around their Communist Party, the friendship of the peoples, Soviet patriotism and Soviet people's readiness to defend their motherland everywhere.

But it should be said that the huge wheel of the bourgeois propaganda machine does not always make empty spins. Individuals are still encountered who for various reasons come under the influence of bourgeois propaganda, fall victim to ideological sabotage and sometimes take the path of crime.

And it is not fortuitous that in the Soviet people's education the Communist Party attaches paramount significance to increased political vigilance, which is the main impediment in the way of the imperialist intelligence services. Political vigilance presupposes high Soviet patriotism, a hatred of enemies and an ability to recognize their insidious actions.

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A big part in the working people's education in a spirit of political vigilance is being played by the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, the report of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev and also CPSU Central Committee decrees aimed at a further improvement in ideological and political education and a strengthening of labor discipline. These documents chart the concrete paths of an improvement in the entire complex of educational work.

In the atmosphere of imperialism's increased subversive activity there is an increase in the state security authorities' responsibility for our society's reliable protection against the intrigues of the special services of the imperialist states. A most important condition of the successful accomplishment of the tasks of ensuring state security is party leadership of the KGB authorities. It is this which imparts to Cheka activity the correct political thrust and ensures the use of specific means of struggle within the strict framework of the law and exclusively in the interests of our great cause--the triumph of communism.

In the report at the 26th CPSU Congress Comrade L.I. Brezhnev made a high evaluation of the activity of the KGB authorities. It in fact expressed the view of our party's Central Committee of the main aspects of the state security authorities' activity under current conditions. The general conclusion from this evaluation is that the exacerbation of the international situation demands increased vigilance, decisiveness and aggressiveness in all areas of Cheka work.

The decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the instructions of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev have inspired all Chekists to an improvement in work quality, raised their personal responsibility for the entrusted task and will contribute to an intensification of the struggle against the intrigues of imperialism. Our main task is to reliably ensure the state security of our great motherland under the leadership of the party and with the support of the entire Soviet people. Chekists assure the party and the Soviet people that they see service thereof as their high duty and sacred obligation.

* S.A. Losev, general director of TASS: "For the Topicality and Intelligibility of Information"

The TASS collective considers it its main task to assist the party organizations convey to each Soviet individual and the foreign community the profound meaning and historic significance of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress. The agency's activity is currently concentrated on an all-around portrayal of the Soviet people's struggle for realization of the congress' decisions, the fulfillment of plans and socialist pledges, the intensification of social production and its increased efficiency. TASS has compiled long-term plans of propaganda of the congress' decisions and the proposition and conclusions set forth in Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's report.

At the center of attention of our entire body is an improvement in the quality of the transmitted information and its increased promptitude, topicality and intelligibility. In accordance with the requirements of the CPSU Central Committee decree "A Further Improvement in Ideological and Political Education,"

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the subject matter and geography of the information have been extended and its volume has increased approximately 15-20 percent in the last 2 years. Naturally, this is only the start of the impending reorganization of all information-propaganda work. Our group is guided here by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's instruction that "every article in a newspaper or journal and every broadcast on television or radio needs to be viewed as a serious conversation with people, who expect not only a truthful and prompt exposition of the facts but also their in-depth analysis and serious generalizations."*

We have recently begun to transmit more extensively differentiated information with regard for the specific features of newspapers and certain regions of the country. Special layouts are used to transmit material for central and Moscow newspapers, for the republic, kray, oblast and other local publications, for the Baltic, Trans-Caucasus, Central Asian, Ural, Siberian and Far East zones and for Komsomol, evening and sports papers. This work is being perfected constantly with regard for the requirements of the recipients of the information.

In intra-union information an increasingly large place is assigned social subject matter and material convincingly showing the party's tremendous concern for Soviet people's well-being and revealing the measures for the intensive economic development of each fraternal union republic. A most important task of TASS journalists is the propaganda and dissemination of the progressive experience of the labor collectives which are all-union socialist competition winners. Over 50 articles were transmitted to the newspapers in 1980 on collectives represented on the USSR Exhibition of National Economic Achievements All-Union Roll of Honor under the rubric "Attention: Interesting Experience!" The newspapers receive TASS photographic information on these subjects twice weekly. The preparation of analytical problem-solving material on acute, as yet unresolved questions of our life for the purpose of ascertaining the specific causes of shortcomings and the removal of negative phenomena will continue.

TASS transmits to the country's newspapers daily a large quality of the most diverse intra-union information sufficient to fill one page of a newspaper, as a whole. The papers are afforded a wide choice both with respect to the subject matter and the geography of the reports. How the material that is received is used is another matter. We have considerable complaints in this respect about the local press.

Thus compared with the fourth quarter of last year in the first quarter of 1981 Ukrainian republic newspapers had cut back the publication of TASS union information by 30-100 reports, devoting the main attention merely to material of an official nature. In the first quarter the Uzbek republic newspapers PRAVDA VOSTOKA and SOVET UZBEKISTANY carried 308 and 309 union reports respectively, of which material of an official nature constituted more than 80

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 76.

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percent. The situation is roughly the same in Lithuania also. The Georgian republic newspapers ZARYA VOSTOKA and KOMMUNISTI publish insufficient TASS union information. In January 1981 the newspaper SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA was transmitted 972 TASS items on the life of the country, but published 70, that is, 7 percent. Only 9-10 percent of TASS union information was carried in February 1981 by SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA. It should be noted that it is not everywhere that we observe such an attitude toward TASS material. In the first quarter of 1981 the republic newspaper SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA, for example, carried 790 reports on the life of the USSR. Official material accounted for less than half of these.

It is wrong, we believe, when a republic newspaper is irregular in carrying material on events in the fraternal republics and the country's biggest industrial centers. It is well known, for example, that representatives of the whole country are participating in the construction of the Baykal-Amur Main Railroad. TASS describes the labor affairs and the life of the Baykal-Amur workers in a special news roundup. It is not that easy sometimes for the agency's correspondents to obtain this information. And it is incomprehensible why space is sometimes not found for it in the papers. Furthermore, many newspapers could not obtain information under such rubrics as "Attention: Interesting Experience!" and "The Nonchernozem: Vistas of Development" without TASS' assistance, but yet publish it irregularly. It is paradoxical, but a fact that the central papers, which have correspondents throughout the country, regularly carry TASS union information also, whereas certain republic, kray and oblast papers, which do not have their own sources of analogous information, do not always make use of the TASS material. As a result it is difficult for the readers, particularly those who subscribe to a local paper only, to get an objective idea of the life of the country. A lack of the necessary information is also reflected, obviously, in the results of the newspapers' work on the working people's education in a spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism.

Insufficient attention is also paid to TASS photographic information. The agency offers the republic papers five-six current photos daily, not counting official photos, on domestic and international subjects. But they are ordered by a limited number of publications. Inadequate use is also being made of the photographic material sent by mail.

The broadening of information on the life of the country in the republic, kray and oblast papers is a very important issue. The party Central Committee decree "An Improvement in the Quality and an Increase in the Size of Republic, Kray and Oblast Papers," which was adopted in 1945, pointed out that it is necessary "to take advantage of the increase in the newspapers' size for a significant expansion of information on the life of the Soviet Union and union republics, krays and oblasts."

The volume of TASS information on questions of international life is considerable. In press roundups and commentaries for the Soviet and foreign press TASS extensively propagandizes the peaceful foreign policy initiatives and serious proposals to extend detente and curb the arms race put forward by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev. At the same time it exposes the aggressive, adventurist policy of the new U.S. Administration and rebuffs various provocative campaigns directed against the USSR and the other socialist countries.

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We are taking all necessary steps to ensure the prompt daily receipt of this topical propaganda material. It is a matter of our press making active use of the agency's wealth of correspondent resources abroad and inside the country for the fuller satisfaction of the readers' requirements.

At the same time TASS journalists have much to do in the light of the requirements of the 26th CPSU Congress concerning a reorganization of many areas and spheres of ideological work to ensure that the content of the agency's information be even more topical and that the form of presentation be clearer and more intelligible. There is every opportunity for this. Thanks to the assistance of the party Central Committee, modern technical facilities have recently been created in TASS which are on a par with the best world models. New offices and correspondent centers of the agency have been opened abroad. However, it should be acknowledgedin self-criticism that these rich opportunities are not yet being used to the full extent. Understanding the importance of the tasks set by the party, TASS workers are doing everything to raise the ideological level and improve the content and quality of their material.

*R.I. Kosolapov, chief editor of the journal KOMMUNIST: "The 26th CPSU Congress and the Development of Marxist-Leninist Theory"

The political-economic biweekly BOL'SHEVIK, which was subsequently renamed KOMMUNIST at the 19th party congress--the theoretical and political journal of the CPSU Central Committee--was founded on 19 November 1923 by a decision of the Russian Communist Party (Bol'sheviks) Central Committee Organizational Bureau.

According to contemporaries, the initiative for the establishment of the BOL'SHEVIK came from V.I. Lenin. Lenin, it is said, was shown a facsimile of the cover of the new journal, but its first issue came out after Vladimir Il'ich's death, in April 1924. As pointed out in the BOL'SHEVIK's first, program, editorial, and this retains its relevance today also, "our main task is the defense and substantiation of historic Bol'shevism and struggle against all attempts to distort and corrupt its principles." "We wish," it was said further, "always to be an organ of inquiring, critical, Bol'shevist party thought.... We wish to be an organ of the animation, intensification and strengthening of party thought and an organ of the manifestation of the party's ideological initiative."*

Summing up the first results of the journal's work, a resolution on party building a year after the 14th Russian Communist Party (Bol'sheviks) Conference records: "To recognize that the idea of the creation as a supplement to PRAVDA of a combat directive party organ (the journal BOL'SHEVIK) has been entirely justified and that the party should assist in every possible way the further strengthening of BOL'SHEVIK as the consistently directive organ of Leninism."** The editorial office has for six decades now adhered

*BOL'SHEVIK No 1, 1924, pp 3, 4, 6.
**"The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and Central Committee Plenums," Moscow, 1970, vol 3, p 181.

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to this directive unswervingly, endeavoring to sustain BOL'SHEVIK-KOMMUNIST in a consistently Leninist, party spirit entirely in the traditions of classical Marxism-Leninism.

It is necessary to speak of this here by no means to take on the past as an end in itself or to admire it but for the sake of recalling the vital need for the consistent and tireless combination of scientific communism with the workers' movement and the mass movement of working people and constant purposeful work in this field. It is well known that carelessness in respect of revolutionary theory and negligence in respect of the correct political orientation with its help of the people's masses has repeatedly avenged itself in a weakening of relations with these masses and with the younger generation, which has been negatively reflected in the state of our entire worker cause.

Comrade L.I. Brezhnev emphasized at the 26th CPSU Congress that "a Marxist-Leninist party cannot perform its role if it fails to pay due attention to a comprehension of everything that is occurring, a collation of the new phenomena of life and the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory."* The place of theoretical work in the large-scale and multifaceted activity of the party organizations is thereby determined.

After the CPSU Central Committee June (1980) Plenum had adopted the decision on the convening of the congress, KOMMUNIST inaugurated the rubric "Toward the 26th Party Congress--Experience of the 10th Five-Year Plan" and ran it from issue to issue. In December 1980 this rubric was replaced by another--"Toward the 26th Party Congress--CPSU Central Committee Draft Is Discussed"--and the editorial office ran this until the congress itself.

Subsequently, in issues 4, 5 and 6 for 1981, KOMMUNIST accommodated a number of articles under the heads "To the Delegates to the 26th CPSU Congress" and "To the Guests of the 26th CPSU Congress," but the main rubric, which is inaugurated in issue 5 and which it is intended to run for no less than 2 years, has been "The 26th CPSU Congress--Development of Marxist-Leninist Theory".

Interpretation of the theoretical ideas and conclusions of the 26th CPSU Congress is passing through its initial phase as yet, but even now it is possible to cite a number of innovative features to whose revelation KOMMUNIST will pay the closest attention. We will cite five of them.

First, the congress' orientation entirely toward man both in the theoretical and, particularly, in the practical respects. The Lenin Party's traditional line was thereby corroborated and extended. Setting the fasion of the entire preparation for the congress, Comrade L.I. Brezhnev determined at the CPSU Central Committee October (1980) Plenum as the most party-minded approach that "When concern for the good of the people is made the cornerstone. And from a strictly economical viewpoint," he added, "it is more correct to proceed from the final goal toward that which is to ensure its achievement."**

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 77.
**L.I. Brezhnev, "Lenin's Way," vol 8, p 468.

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Unfortunately, certain philosophers discerned in the material of the 26th congress only a reproach leveled at them in connection with the fact that "quite often they prefer to prove what is already proven instead of interpreting the new phenomena of life,"* but failed to properly appreciate the fact that man--this most important category of historical materialism--proved to be at the center of the examination of practically all the problems which confronted the party forum.

Whether it was a question at the congress of the main task of the 11th Five-Year Plan or of output quality, of the food program or of the expansion of consumer goods' production and the development of the services' sphere and the liquidation of manual unskilled and heavy manual labor or of the need, together with the introduction of new national economic projects, to ensure the fulfillment of plan quotas in terms of housing and cultural-everyday construction--one thing was confirmed on each occasion: "Concrete concern for the concrete individual and his needs and requirements is," as Comrade L.I. Brezhnev declared, "the start and finish of the party's economic policy."**

This proposition is applicable to our ideological work to a by no means lesser, if not greater, extent than to the socialist economy. After all, those who are involved in it are entrusted with a most complex and subtle sphere of life--man's mind and his spiritual world--where an attitude toward him as the main, priceless resource of the Soviet society is particularly meaningful.

A particular feature of our ideological-political work today is the fact that Soviet man as its "target" and as the "consumer" of its results is different. Mention was made at the congress of the extent to which "his knowledge has been enriched and his erudition increased and his spiritual requirements have grown considerably."***

Over the last 20-25 years the agitator, propagandist and lecturer have gradually ceased to be a kind of "monopoly owner" of information and have largely lost their advantages over the audience in education and political experience, and we can only rejoice at this: we have before us the result of the many years of efforts of those same agitators, propagandists and lecturers. More often than not, critical observations concerning our propaganda are connected precisely with the fact that this said fact is insufficiently fully recognized by the ideological activists and still not taken into account by them sufficiently in their work. The propagandist now is capable of winning people's enthusiasm not so much as a source of the latest news and as a transmitter of party instructions but rather as an intelligent interlocutor and adviser who skillfully analyzes what is, in the main, already known to his interlocutors, illustrates what is known by a ray of sober-minded Marxist-Leninist logic and who has learned, as V.V. Mayakovskiy put it, "to be able to awaken in each speak of dust the copper of Bol'shevist fervor."

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 78.
**Ibid., p 49.
***Ibid., p 75.

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A capacity for analytical thinking is vitally necessary for our propaganda personnel and it should be developed constantly. The propagandist's respectful attitude toward his audience and comradely communication with it as an equal, without which it is hardly possible to count on an increase in the effectiveness and quality of ideological education, is also connected with this, incidentally.

The second of the congress' ideas is the further creative development of what is most important in Marxism-Leninism—the teaching of the working class' world-historical mission with reference to the stage of developed socialism and the conditions of communist building. Having become a majority of the people of labor, it is more powerfully palpable than ever in the role of the "social intelligence and social heart"* of the world revolutionary process and the developing new society. And there has been an unprecedented increase in the activeness of the bourgeoisie, the enemies of socialism and the troubadors of imperialist obscurantism aimed at confusing the class consciousness of the proletariat, poisoning it with the poison gas of "consumerism" and spiritually "Lumpenizing" and ideologically disarming it. Because of this the strengthening of class-based worker self-awareness primarily on the basis of scientific revolutionary theory is for us inseparable from a display of ideological vigilance.

The third idea of the congress which should be developed and concretized both in the scientific-theoretical and agitation-propaganda respects is that "a classless structure of society will develop by and large within the historical framework of mature socialism."** And this means that the Soviet people, as a new historical, social and international community of people, are proving to be the cradle of the first classless society on earth. The guarantee of its creation is the sociopolitical domination of the working class, and, furthermore, as the congress observed, its revolutionary ideology and morality, collectivist mentality and its interests and ideals are becoming the property of all strata of the working people. We have never before been so close to the program goal of the building of a society without classes about which many generations of revolutionaries have dreamed, and no one has hitherto been confronted with such a responsible and complex task, with its mass of hitherto unforeseen aspects.

The fourth is the congress' enrichment of the Marxist-Leninist conception of socialist social relations and the ways of their ultimate reorganization in accordance with the well-known formula: "on the collectivist principles inherent in the new system."*** A broad spectrum of problems was in view on this occasion—from the leveling of social differences territorially through a tightening of control over the extent of labor and the extent of consumption, from the formation of reasonable requirements and the ability to take advantage of the benefits of developed socialism through a refinement of internation relations and from the development of an effective demographic policy through an eradication of all relapses into a petit bourgeois approach. Big

*See K. Marx and F. Engels, "Works," vol 1, p 425.
**"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 53.
***Ibid., p 57.

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tasks also confront us here in the sphere of ideological-moral education. Thus it is necessary to show tirelessly, but variously and not importunately with the all media of information, propaganda and mass-political work that our socialist society is primarily a society of labor in which the satisfaction of personal material and spiritual requirements is tightly and constantly dependent on one's own contribution to the overall labor; that our society is strong through its collectivist principles and that the true flowering of the creative individuality of each is only possible on the basis of developing communist collectivism; and that the rights and freedoms granted Soviet citizens by the USSR Constitution, which are without precedent in any country, are practicable in full only if they are encompassed by the single hoop of communist morality and socialist discipline with the unswerving performance of civic duties.

And, fifth and finally--and here we return to the point at which we began--prior to the CPSU no political party in the world had proclaimed human rights in full, starting with a guarantee of the primary right--to life--which determines the main content of our peace-loving foreign policy.

I would like in conclusion to make one further observation concerning the confusion of the "information" and "propaganda" concepts which is sometimes observed. The first even supersedes the second on occasion. Of course, our information services have many shortcomings: delays in transmitting news and its interpretation, the incomplete nature of information and improptitude, and their work needs to be improved. But even if we one day accomplish this task, our ideological goals cannot be achieved by information and the organization of the stream of topical reports alone. For this reason we say of propaganda that, while also being a kind of information, it has its own class bias, which among progressive forces is not at variance with objectiveness, and active purposefulness and imparts to information the quality of the fighting political orientation and mobilization of the masses. There is much room for creative search, tests and discoveries here, and, furthermore, the motto in this responsible and noble work could be Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's words spoken at the 26th CPSU Congress: "Who if not ideological workers should be characterized to the highest degree by a sense of the new."*

*Ye. I. Chazov, deputy minister of health of the USSR and general director of the All-Union Cardiological Research Center: "Struggle for People's Life and Health--Humanistic Mission of Soviet Medicine"

Comrade L.I. Brezhnev emphasized in the report at the 26th CPSU Congress that concern for Soviet people's health is a most important social task. The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers adopted the comprehensive decree "Measures To Further Improve Public Health Care" in 1977. This decree points to the need for the development and strengthening of primary medical assistance--outpatient clinics, the neighborhood service, first aid and the medical units. The decree put forward as a principal task of Soviet health care the creation of a cardiological service in the country and increased struggle against cardio-vascular illnesses.

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 76.

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Cardio-vascular illnesses are the main cause of death in our country and one of the most prevalent causes of occupational losses in connection with temporary disability. More than 1.3 million persons have been dying annually in the USSR from cardio-vascular disease in recent years, which constitutes 52 percent of mortality. Two trends which have emerged in recent years are making us particularly watchful. First, the increase in morbidity and mortality from cardiac and vascular disease in areas where even recently these illnesses were not that frequent, namely, Moldavia and the Central Asian republics. In connection with this trend the time has come, I believe, for the creation of republic cardiological centers (cardiology scientific research institutes) in Moldavia and Tajikistan, where they are currently lacking. Second, the considerable increase in morbidity and mortality from cardio-vascular disease in rural localities, where it was always considerably lower than in the cities.

Comrade L.I. Brezhnev pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress that the cardiological service had been developed appreciably in recent years. Some 14 cardiology scientific research institutes are functioning currently whose tasks include both scientific research and scientific-methods leadership of assistance to patients with cardio-vascular disease and highly qualified consultative assistance.

A cardiology administration has been created in the USSR Ministry of Health which is designed to provide for the creation of an extensive system of cardiological assistance in the country and the introduction in health care practice of the latest achievements of science and medical equipment. Some 827 cardiological departments in hospitals and 2,261 cardiological wards in clinics have been developed and are functioning in the country currently and 368 "ambulance medical care" cardiology teams have been revamped. This is just the start of a great deal of organizing work aimed at actively combating mankind's enemy No 1 and at ensuring that those suffering from cardiac and vascular disease may always and everywhere obtain timely, qualified and sensitive medical assistance.

The health care authorities are allocated annually up to 50,000 sanatoria passes, where patients who have suffered a myocardial infarction are sent in accordance with the hospital list to finish their treatment free of charge. The measures that have been implemented are beginning to produce results today even. Thus a decline, albeit negligible, in mortality from hypertension is being observed in the country as a whole. Good results in the treatment of patients with a myocardial infarction have been achieved in the Ukraine, Latvia and Lithuania.

Party and soviet workers and Soviet health care and science figures are called on to accomplish in full the tasks raised in the decree "Measures To Further Improve Public Health Care".

The solution of major problems in any sphere, including the health service, is impossible without the accelerated development of scientific research. Comrade L.I. Brezhnev said at the 26th CPSU Congress: "...science must be a constant 'tranquillity agitator,' showing in which areas stagnation and lags have been discerned and where the current level of knowledge affords

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an opportunity for speedier and more successful advance."* It was precisely this principle which guided the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, the USSR Gosplan and the USSR Academy of Sciences in the creation of the State Program of Scientific Research into Cardio-Vascular Disease. Some 82 USSR Academy of Sciences' and USSR Academy of Medical Sciences' establishments and various ministries and departments are participating. In incorporates fundamental and applied scientific research, particularly the creation of new medical apparatus and new drugs.

Fundamental research in the sphere of cardiology, which lagged behind the world level in the past, is being developed. In the last 5-6 years Soviet cardiological science has succeeded not only in making up this lag but, as a whole, firmly occupying foremost positions in a number of spheres and determining the direction of scientific research. The fact that the 10th International Society for Study of the Heart Congress was held in Moscow in September 1980 was recognition of Soviet cardiology's successes in the sphere of fundamental research.

Here are just some of the new directions being developed by Soviet cardiologists.

Researchers working in the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences' All-Union Cardiological Center have discovered new ways and mechanisms of transmitting energy to the myocardium. It has been determined that almost the entire energy needed for the systole (and at any load) may be transferred by creatine phosphate. This discovery creates the possibility of the search for means improving the heart's energy supply and increasing its functional possibilities.

It has been known for a comparatively long time that electric processes in the heart are regulated by means of changes in the flow of sodium and potassium ions. And it is only in recent years that researchers' attention has been drawn to a study of the role of calcium and magnesium ions in the regulation of cardiac activity. It has been established that the heart's diastolic (relaxed) phase, which was long considered a passive process conditioned by the filling of the chambers of the heart with blood, is an active process in which an important part is played by the speed of the passage of calcium ions from one part of the myoblast to another regulated by a special enzyme. Assistants of the All-Union Cardiological Research Center have succeeded in separating and removing this enzyme—the basic component of the system of the calcium pump of the myocardium. This creates the conditions for obtaining new means of struggle against cardiac insufficiency.

Certain achievements of the theoreticians and experimenters have already taken their first steps in practical medicine. Comparatively recently biologists found methods of immobilizing enzymes on biologically compatible carriers. Work was begun in the All-Union Cardiological Research Center on the creation on the basis of immobilized enzymes of preparations applicable for medical purposes. The advantage of such preparations is that they can be channeled with the help of a catheter into the affected organ, into the thrombosed

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 43.

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vessel, avoiding, on the one hand, the dilution of the preparation in the entire volume of circulating blood, which leads to a considerable loss of the activeness of the preparation which has been inserted, and, on the other, multiple injections traumatizing the patient. A preparation of [streptodekaz] representing an immobilized streptokinase enzyme has been successfully applied with myocardial infarction and acute thrombosis.

New directions in the treatment of a whole number of not only cardio-vascular diseases but also mental illnesses and illnesses of the gastro-intestinal tract are connected with the synthesis and study of so-called neuropeptides regulating the function of the central nervous system. As our experimental data show, these preparations will possibly be a means of preventing changes in the function of the organism in a state of stress.

A whole number of fundamental studies is making it possible even today to talk about the practical singificance of the data that has been obtained. Thus with reference to atherosclerosis we should point to the work connected with a study of particular blood components, cholesterol carriers and so-called lipoproteins. It appears that the blood contains two types of lipoproteins: some--of low density--contribute to cholesterol penetrating the vascular wall, others--of high density--keep it in the blood. New possibilities are being revealed on the basis of this of detecting persons with a predisposition toward atherosclerosis and ischemic heart disease and for prophylaxis among them.

New diagnostic methods, particularly sutdy of the cardio-vascular system by ultrasonic methods, are being applied increasingly extensively. Such a traditional method of investigation and diagnostics as electrocardiography is also being perfected. Cardiac cavity ECG recordings and intra-esophageal electrocardiography are performed and ECG are transmitted by telephone and radio in the Soviet Union. More than 20 new types of apparatus for monitoring the function of the cardio-vascular system were introduced in series production in the last 4 years alone.

A formidable heart disease is myocardial infarction, from which many patients die before they can be rendered medical assistance. Taking this fact into account, a system of treating myocardial infarction was developed in the Soviet Union more than 24 years ago. It incorporates organized measures to speed up the myocardial infarction patients' delivery to a hospital and their assistance in the process of transportation, for which specialized anti-infarction "first aid" teams were set up for the first time in the world. Antishock wards and intensive-care units have been organized in the major and specialized hospitals and supplied with modern equipment. The final stage of treatment--recuperative therapy--includes time spent in specialized sanatoria. All this, together with an improvement in the methods of rendering the patients assistance, is enabling us to lower myocardial infarction morbidity.

Soviet cardiologists are paying serious attention to a study of the mechanisms of the emergence of various forms of arterial hypertension and their treatment. An analysis of many variants of the hypertension pattern has confirmed the complexity of the mechanisms of the emergence of the disease, in whose

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development changes in the central nervous system, the neural regulation of the vessels and the content of a number of pressor and depressor hormones play a part. The principles of differentiated treatment of hypertension taking account of the state of the disease, its clinical variants, the patients' age and the influence of different groups of preparations on the pathogenic elements of the disease have been streamlined. This has made it possible to achieve a lowering (and normalization even) of arterial pressure in the majority of patients and has sharply reduced the frequency of the development of serious forms of arterial hypertension and such complications thereof as cardiac and renal insufficiency. Regular out-patient treatment of hypertensives is making it possible to reduce labor losses from temporary disability to 30-35 percent.

A leading principle of the activity of the Soviet Union health care system, which was proclaimed back in the first postrevolutionary years, is recognition of the decisive role of disease prevention in the struggle for people's health.

Thanks to free medical service, the existing methods of prevention may be employed extensively not only under the conditions of the general health clinic network but also within the ramified system of medical units and preventive clinics attached to large-scale industrial enterprises, and the free issue of medicines is already practiced in some of them. Great significance is attached to sanatorium-health resort treatment and also the dispensary method of the detection and treatment of patients with cardio-vascular disease, which provides for the regular monitoring of the state of the health of those under observation.

The effect of the preventive treatment of hypertension may be judged from the following facts. It was established in a mass survey of males aged 40-59 that among 20 percent of the persons with higher-than-usual arterial pressure hypertension had been detected for the first time. A year after the hypertensives had been put on the dispensary register, the number of those undergoing treatment increased from 31.2 to 81.5 percent and the number of patients whose treatment was successful from 10.7 to 56.7 percent.

The dispensary method which has been adopted in the Soviet Union is not confined to active treatment of registered patients but also provides for doctor's supervision of the patients' work and recreation conditions and their diet. The introduction of the dispensary system of the supervision of patients with cardio-vascular disease is contributing to a considerable improvement in the prognosis of these patients and their continued fitness for work and is affording them an opportunity to follow a normal way of life.

The preventive clinics are a distinctive component of the system of dispensary supervision of patients. There are more than 3,000 of them in our country. Workers and employees, including those suffering from cardio-vascular disease, spend in nonwork time (after work, on off days) approximately 1 month per year here altogether. The preventive clinics conduct dietary and physical therapy, therapeutic physical culture and, where indicated, medicamental treatment and monitor the influence of work loads on the patients' circulatory system.

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In discussing the problems of the struggle for the people's life and health Soviet medical men do not forget either that life on earth itself has never before been in such jeopardy as in our day. This threat emanates from the arms race, which in its power of destruction is in no way comparable with types of weapons which have existed previously.

It has been calculated that in all of WWII, which took 50 million lives and left thousands of devastated cities and destroyed villages, approximately 5 megatons of various explosive devices were detonated. It is not difficult to imagine what could happen as the result of the deliberate or accidental outbreak of nuclear war if it is considered that the explosive yield of just one thermonuclear warhead is dozens of times greater than the total yield of all the explosions detonated in the course of all the wars waged by mankind. We may recall the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, which shook all mankind by its horrors. The consequences of the nuclear explosions in Hiroshima and Nagasaki were catastropic. But even they can provide no idea of the scale of human losses and devastation which a modern nuclear war would entail. After all, the total yield of present-day nuclear arsenals is the equivalent of 1 million bombs of the kind which destroyed the Japanese city of Hiroshima.

Amid the concerns of daily life and the problems of the present day the peoples have begun to forget the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and do not think of the potential consequences which nuclear war could entail for each inhabitant of the planet. Moreover, attempts are made in the assertions of certain political and military figures and scientists even to belittle the possible consequences of a nuclear war. A report prepared by a special committee of the U.S. Academy of Sciences and made public in 1977, which claims that even a global nuclear war would not be reflected in the biosphere and life on earth, might serve as an example. Following publication of the report, the U.S. Academy of Sciences was forced under the pressure of incontrovertible facts presented by other prominent scientists of the world and under public pressure to publish a letter in which it attempted to prove that it had been misunderstood and that it was opposed to nuclear war in principle, it is true. But a fact remains a fact. Statements are appearing to the effect that nuclear war is winnable or that it might be possible to conduct a limited nuclear war. R. Pipes, a responsible official of the U.S. National Security Council, declared bluntly that it is necessary to prepare for nuclear war since it is inevitable, and U.S. Secretary of State A. Haig has proclaimed that there are principles more important than the preservation of peace.

Comrade L.I. Brezhnev said in the report at the 26th CPSU Congress: "They wish to impress upon people that nuclear war could be limited and reconcile them to the idea of the permissibility of such a war. But this is outright deception of the peoples!... Attempting to defeat one another in an arms race and counting on victory in a nuelear war are dangerous madness."*

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," pp 21, 23.

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Sober-minded people are increasingly beginning to ponder the question of whither the unrestrained nuclear arms race is leading the world and what will become of mankind if nuclear war breaks out? At the end of 1979 a large group of U.S. scientists and doctors held a special conference in Boston, which discussed the possible consequences of nuclear war for the life and health of people on earth. The scientific data presented at this conference were so horrifying that its participants proposed founding the new international movement "Doctors of the World for the Prevention of Nuclear War".

Understanding that explanation to the peoples of the possible consequences of nuclear war and the struggle to limit and subsequently ban nuclear weapons are impossible without the participation of Soviet scientists and doctors, B. [Laun], professor of cardiology and leader of the American group of doctors, proposed that we meet and discuss questions of the creation and the principles of the said international movement. Such a meeting was held in December 1980 in Geneva. Agreement was reached on the holding 21-26 March of a conference of scientists and doctors of the United States and the USSR in the Washington suburb of Airlie with an invitation to representatives of Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki who had suffered from the atomic bombing.

It may be asserted with a feeling of profound satisfaction and professional pride in the lofty moral, human qualities of doctors of various countries of the world that the idea of the movement was extensively approved and supported. The representatives of 11 countries stated their wish to participate in the doctors' meeting. The planned bilateral meeting became the first "Doctors of the World for the Prevention of Nuclear War" international conference.

In its representativeness, significance of the documents which were adopted and the attention to the conference on the part of the world public and the press, radio and television it surpassed all expectations. The Soviet delegations, which included two members of the USSR Academy of Sciences, 5 members and 3 corresponding members of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, professors and eminent figures of Soviet medicine, was among the most active and representative delegations at the conference.

The basic principles of the movement were formulated at the conference. It was emphasized that doctors, as the professional group most responsible for the life and health of the inhabitants of the planet and the most familiar with the tragic consequences of nuclear war, could make an appreciable contribution to the cause of its prevention. Abiding by their professional honor and the Hyppocratic oath, doctors do not have the right to conceal from their patients the threat to their life which exists in the world today.

For each of our planet's 3 million doctors the struggle against the danger of nuclear war should be not only a manifestation of human honesty and humaneness but also a professional duty. This, incidentally, should also be understood by the members of the WHO. It is not a question of political problems but the preservation of the health and lives of all peoples of our planet.

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A basic principle of the movement is the endeavor to explain to the peoples of the world and the governments of the nuclear powers on the basis of our knowledge and precise scientific data the danger to life on earth contained in the nuclear stockpiles and the outbreak of nuclear war.

Comrade L.I. Brezhnev said at the 26th CPSU Congress: "The peoples must know the truth about the dire consequences for mankind to which nuclear war could lead. We propose the creation of an authoritative international committee which would show the vital necessity for the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe.... The whole world should be notified of the conclusions which it reaches."*

In the event of a nuclear strike under modern conditions the fate of the inhabitants of the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki would be shared by tens and hundreds of millions of people. Even a single explosion of a nuclear bomb with a yield of 1 megaton (80 times more powerful than the bomb dropped on Hiroshima) over urban areas would cause devastation and loss of human life on an unprecedented scale. This would also create insoluble problems for the competent medical services which remained. It is sufficient to say that with a nuclear explosion of a yield of 1 megaton in just 1 hour the amount of radioactivity as a result of the explosion would be equal to that of 500 million kilograms of radium. The risk of a fatal outcome for the survivors of a nuclear explosion would exist for the rest of their lives. Many of those affected would live the rest of their lives under the conditions of the increased risk of leukemia and various malignant tumors.

In the event of a nuclear explosion there would also be disruptions of the ecological balance (in living organisms, agricultural crops and in the atmosphere) of a nature and scale which can only be guessed at. For example, the discharge into the atmosphere of large quantities of the oxides which form at the time of the concentrated use of nuclear weapons could destroy the atmosphere's ozone layer, which protects the Earth's surface from penetrating ultraviolet radiation, which would evidently lead to the destruction of plants and animals and also injuries to people. There is no analogy to nuclear war in man's experience in the scale, duration and variety of dangers for biological and social life. The preservation of civilization itself is at stake.

Huge resources, both human and material, are being diverted into the nuclear arms race when millions of people in this world are starving and suffering from various diseases and when there are still millions of illiterates. Some 400 million persons are systematically malnourished, 300 million suffer from anemia, 100 million children face the threat of death from an inadequate diet and vitamin shortage and 30 percent of children have no chance of attending school in the developing countries currently. The arms race is complicating the solution of numerous world problems--ecological and energy problems, problems of health care and education and so forth.

*"Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 30.

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Certain comparative data may be adduced. In the last 10 years the WHO has spent approximately $82 million on eradicating smallpox in the world, which is less than the cost of a single modern strategic bomber. According to certain WHO calculations, it would take $450 million to wipe out malaria, from which over 1 billion people suffer in 66 countries. This is less than half of the resources spent in the world daily on armaments and one-third of the cost of a submarine fitted with the Trident missile system.

Returning to the work of the "Doctors of the World for the Prevention of Nuclear War" conference, it should be emphasized that it was held under the conditions of strong political pressure on the members of the American delegation. The Soviet delegation had to do a great deal of work for the successful completion of the conference and display initiative in the adoption of a whole number of decisions which are very important for the doctors' movement and the future of peoples of the whole world. Great assertiveness was also displayed by the delegations of the West European countries, who supported the Soviet delegation's proposal on the adoption of an appeal to heads of state and the United Nations. The next conference is to be held in April 1982 in Austria.

The adopted resolution described in detail the tragic consequences for civilization and life on earth in the event of the outbreak of nuclear war and also pointed to the actions in which doctors should engage in the struggle to preserve peace. These are extensive information about the medical problems connected with nuclear war and the danger of nuclear weapons, discussion of questions connected with the development of rules of international law banning nuclear weapons and so forth. Appeals were adopted at the conference to L.I. Brezhnev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and U.S. President R. Reagan, heads of states, the United Nations and all the world's doctors which emphasized the need for talks on reducing and banning nuclear arms.

In the appeal to the heads of all governments and the United Nations the conferees wrote: "As doctors, we act in the interests of people, whose health we are sworn to protect. Scientific data on the medical consequences of the use of nuclear weapons convinces us that providing casualties with effective medical assistance would be impossible. We therefore insistently appeal for removal of the threat of nuclear war to be given the highest priority. There is no more important goal than ensuring the conditions for the preservation of human civilization."

The main idea by which the participants in the movement are guided was expressed in a document thus: "War begins in people's minds, but human wisdom is capable of preventing war."

* A.M. Roganov, secretary of the Moscow Gorkom: "The Party Organization's Firm Ties to the Masses--Guarantee of Successful Ideological Work"

There is currently no sphere of the life of our party, our people and our society which, thanks to the 26th CPSU Congress, has not received a great creative boost to its development.

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Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's striking report at the congress, which contained profound theoretical generalizations and relevant practical conclusions, has enriched the party's ideological arsenal. Realizing this wealth in the interests of communist building and Soviet people's education in a spirit of high Marxist-Leninist consciousness is the paramount, extraordinarily responsible and at the same time inspiring task of each party organization.

Setting the party organizations and all communists an example of a truly creative attitude toward the accomplishment of the economic and sociopolitical tasks confronting the party and the state, the CPSU Central Committee and its Politburo headed by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev are also paying unremitting attention to a constant refinement of ideological work, regard it as a most important part of the process of communist building and are displaying the utmost concern for its increased efficiency and efficacy.

In implementing the decisions of the congress the Moscow Gorkom has concentrated the efforts of the primary party organizations on an in-depth study of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's report and other material of the 26th CPSU Congress. Study and assimilation of the congress' material by every communist and every working person is, as the CPSU Central Committee and Comrade L.I. Brezhnev point out, an essential condition of the realization of the congress' decisions.

The gorkom and the raykoms have developed and are implementing measures providing for the accomplishment of this.

We speak with satisfaction of the fact that a good political and moral atmosphere has evolved in Moscow's collectives, the basis of which is the party organizations' firm ties to the masses. This, in turn, secures favorable conditions for ideological education.

The course of the study of the material of the 26th CPSU Congress shows that the communists and working people of Moscow are prepared both politically and practically to perceive the new tasks and new requirements put forward by the party for the 11th Five-Year Plan. And this is a natural result of the process of the sociopolitical and economic development of our country and the party's entire ideological work.

It may be said with satisfaction that in Moscow, as throughout the country, the ideas and instructions of the congress are alive and are taking effect. The results of the elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet Council of Nationalities on 12 April, inter alia, testify to this. All of Moscow--6.3 million voters--participated. Some 99.97 percent of the electorate voted for candidates of the communist and nonparty bloc.

This is also attested by the results of the work of the capital's working people in the first quarter of the first year of the new 5-year plan; the quarterly plan for industrial output and output sales was overfulfilled. The patriotic undertaking of foremost workers--delegates to the 26th party congress--fulfilling personal annual quotas by 7 November--is becoming increasingly widespread in the labor collectives. More than 200,000 Muscovites have now assumed this pledge.

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Work on the explanation and propaganda of the CPSU Central Committee Report to the 26th party congress and other material of the congress is an unusually rewarding matter affording the agitation-propaganda personnel enormous satisfaction for the working people apprehend the material of the congress with interest and literally reach out for it--to the extent that the burning and stirring issues which it raises are presented in lively and comprehensible form. But this is also connected with high responsibility for explanation and study need to be conducted such as to preserve the wealth of ideas of the congress and prevent their emasculation.

This is why we are also paying particular attention to ensuring that the propaganda cadres themselves assimilate them in depth and that the proper level of agitation and propaganda be sustained. We are striving to ensure that all full-time raykom and party committee workers and members of methods councils themselves attend classes on the congress' material and gain an idea of the quality of these classes and that raykom and party committee bureau and methods council section meetings primarily analyze the shortcomings in this matter and determine ways to overcome them.

The Moscow Gorkom and the majority of raykoms and party committees with raykom status have now examined the course of study of the congress' materials and also the work on implementation of its decisions. Much has already been done. But at the same time some people have the illusion that special efforts for the organization of the further study of the congress' materials are not now required.

There is currently nothing more harmful than this "short-campaign" viewpoint. It has to be overcome everywhere, even if such instances are not that frequent. We are striving to ensure that particular attention be paid to categories of the working people with which it is organizationally more difficult to conduct agitation and propaganda--construction and transport workers and consumer service and trade workers.

Sometimes much time is given in propaganda work to a recounting of the benefits which are to increase in the new 5-year plan, but silence is maintained about the fact that these benefits still have to be created and that they are directly dependent on the results of the labor of everyone. We are emphatically combating such shortcomings.

Work on propaganda of the congress' material still frequently lacks a connection with the labor collectives' concrete tasks. It is not everywhere that an explanation of the need for an increase in the efficiency of production and its intensification and labor productivity growth is backed up by concrete assistance on the part of the propagandists, agitators and political information workers in the development and substantiation of the working people's personal taut socialist pledges and counterplans for the current year and the 5-year plan as a whole.

The Moscow Gorkom Bureau examined the question of the work of the Pervomayskiy Raykom on the propaganda and organization of the implementation of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the recommendations contained in Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's report from this viewpoint.

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The main purpose of the work that is being done is not only to study the congress' documents but also implement them at every place of work. This goal is being lost sight of in certain party organizations.

The extensive dissemination of the experience of the party organization of the Moscow Marshaling Yard and a number of others, where the party committees are currently holding talks with every communist, is aimed at overcoming this discrepancy between word and deed. The purpose of the talks is, first, to ascertain how successfully the content of the congress' documents is being assimilated and explain the questions which arise here and, second, to assist each communist link the congress' material with his personal production assignment in the 11th Five-Year Plan.

At its last plenum the gorkom drew the party activists' attention to the fact that it was too early to rest content in work on propaganda and explanation of the material of the 26th CPSU Congress. A very great deal still has to be done to ensure that the ideological wealth cultivated by the congress become the personal property of each Muscovite, and it is only such an approach which can lead to an improvement in the organization of matters in every area of communist building.

There is no more important task in ideological work currently than reaching the level of the requirements put forward by the 26th CPSU Congress. This is a responsible, creative task, and its accomplishment has been prepared by the tremendous experience of educational work which has been accumulated in the party in recent years.

The idea of a comprehensive approach to the entire business of communist education formulated at the 25th party congress has been very fruitful. The CPSU Central Committee devoted an all-union scientific-practical conference at the end of 1977 and other measures and documents to the collation and dissemination of the party organizations' experience of its practical implementation. New high frontiers of ideological work are determined in the CPSU Central Committee decree "A Further Improvement in Ideological and Political Education" of 26 April 1979, which is geared, as Comrade L.I. Brezhnev observed at the 26th congress, to the distant long term. The all-union seminar-conference will also undoubtedly play a significant part in the realization of these goals.

This constant attention of the CPSU Central Committee to questions of ideology and education strikingly manifests a Leninist style in party work.

Comrade L.I. Brezhnev emphasized in the report at the 26th party congress the need for the reorganization of many areas and spheres of ideological work to ensure that in content it become more relevant and in form correspond to a greater extent to Soviet people's level of culture and knowledge. Much is being done in this field in Moscow.

Party, Komsomol and economic training has been stepped up and brought closer to practice. Mass-political work, including that among the population at the

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place of residence, has become more fruitful. Moscow newspapers, television, radio and oral agitation are showing more strikingly the labor achievements and progressive experience of the participants in socialist competition and that which is new which is born in the activity of the primary party organizations and labor collectives. All ideological education is an inalienable component of the accomplishment of the task of making Moscow a model communist city. A comprehensive approach to the organization of communist education is being catered for considerably more fully by the practice of current and forward planning. Ideological commissions under the auspices of the Moscow Gorkom and raykoms and in the majority of party committees and party bureaus have been created and are operating successfully.

These and other positive phenomena in educational work have exerted their influence on the fact that Moscow as a whole and all its enterprises coped successfully with the 10th Five-Year Plan quotas.

At the same time we understand that these are yesterday's successes and that new, more complex tasks lie ahead of us. Ideological work and its refinement and reorganization, the purpose of which, we believe, is to ensure that the forms, means and level of the party organizations' ideological work be brought into line in all things with the party's main orientation--attention to man and his life, work, social existence and leisure and concern for his material and spiritual well-being--should be subordinated to their accomplishment.

The capital's party organization has much work to do to ensure the transition of the city's economy to the tracks of intensive development. As is known, Moscow has tremendous industrial and scientific-technical potential, which to a considerable extent influences the development of many sectors of the country's economy. The production program is being fulfilled currently under the conditions of the modernization of the enterprises and their retooling of unprecedented scale. There will be no increase in the number of jobs here. A very complex demographic situation is taking shape: the number of persons retiring on pension here is greater than the number of those beginning their work life.

Under these conditions there is particular increase in the demands made on society's main production force--man--and, consequently, the question of the quality of ideological work and an increase in individual ideological education becomes increasingly acute. What ensures its success?

The role of the brigade--this important cell of the labor collective--has increased recently and will continue to grow throughout production life. This phenomenon is a command of the times. It is a means of increasing efficiency and work quality. The accent on the brigade was reflected in the well-known CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree questions of an improvement in the economic mechanism.

Yet ideological work is not yet putting or not putting fully this obvious accent on the brigade as the center of educational work with man . But it is the collective of the brigade, department, study group, laboratory and

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division which has a tremendous ideological-educational impact on man. The principle of a comprehensive approach to the business of education may be realized most fully here.

Conditions even more conducive to educational work are being created with the transition of the brigades to a single job-order, and we already have approximately 20,000 of these. At the imeni Valdimir Il'ich, Automotive Electrical Equipment No 1, "Kompressor" and ZIL plants, in the Metrostroy and in house-building works and other collectives the brigades' transition to a single job-order with payment as per the end result has contributed not only to a growth of labor productivity, the increased quality of the manufactured product and a reduction in losses and shoddy work but also to a strengthening of discipline, heightened organization and an increased thirst for knowledge and higher qualifications.

The time has evidently come to switch to the practice whereby in bringing the political training system up to strength the principle of the brigade--a unified collective--be taken into consideration together with the educational princple. Oral political agitation should be conducted in the brigades. It is necessary to pay the closest attention to the ideological-political training of foremen and brigade leaders--these educators by production activity type.

Incidentally, not only the enterprise party organizations but also the higher school, since its graduates are increasingly reinforcing the foreman and brigade leader personnel, should be involved in this question.

It has to be said that whereas in recent years much has been done in the scientific development of the problems of the labor collective, the problems of the brigade as the primary production cell have as yet been less well developed, unfortunately.

A most important goal of the reorganization of ideological work is a further increase in the educational role of management practice. To achieve this we are introducing increasingly extensively managers' reports at raykom and party committee bureau meetings. But this is not enough. It is necessary, finally, that the ministries and departments be fully involved in the solution of this problem. At foremen schools at the enterprises and at various courses under ministry auspices middle-tier managers are studying questions of the production process, but, as a rule, questions of the ideological-moral development of the labor collective are not being dealt with. Ministry leaders should considerably revise the progams of the training and retraining of managers of the middle tier of production, linking in one the management and educational aspects. This also, we believe, is part of the reorganization concept.

A most important area of ideological work is the communist education of the younger generation. In Moscow, as everywhere, favorable conditions have been created for its all-around spiritual and physical development. An active position in life and the skills of independent creative work are being shaped more purposefully in the future workers and specialists and their enlistment in labor and public activity is being practiced more extensively in the schools and vocational-technical colleges and VUZ's and tekhnikums.

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At the same time the system of the youth's occupational, moral and aesthetic training requires even more appreciable improvement. We see potential for an improvement in the work with the youth in a further increase in the role and authority of the teacher and lecturer, a broadening of their outlook, their increased ideological conditioning and the creation for them of the best conditions (including social conditions) for full concentration on educational work.

The housing office teachers' institute and juvenile group and section leaders, that is, all who in their professional and public activity are connecting with the youth's education require the closest attention. Unfortunately, still far from every party organization is sending the best propagandist, lecturer and political information worker for work with the youth at the place of residence.

Heart-to-heart and confidential talks with the young people without notes and in which acute questions are not avoided are rare. We believe that an increase in the responsibility of everyone who at the behest of the party and the state works with the younger generation contains an important resource of an increase in the effectiveness of education. And we are directing the party organizations' attention toward this. On the other hand, it is important that in the work and study group the young people sense trust in them and have their own important work, that is, that the atmosphere itself create the conditions conducive to their education.

Comrade M.A. Suslov emphasized in his introductory remarks at the seminar-conference that it is necessary to take fuller account of the exacerbation of the class struggle in the international arena. "...It would be wrong," he said, "to ignore the impact of alien ideology on the minds of some people."*

The USSR capital is given particularly close attention by our class enemies and their propaganda and intelligence services. The capital's party organizations have begun to react more promptly to the subversive work of the enemy and to expose its malicious, impudent slander more aggressively. At the same time we still have much to do in this field. It is primarily a question of teaching every propagandist, lecturer, agitator and political information worker to analyze the most important events of international and domestic life from precise class-political positions.

I would like to mention a further important reserve of a refinement of ideological-political and educational work with people--an improvement in the training of ideological personnel. In speaking of the effectiveness of Marxist-Leninist education we all emphasize the importance of debate, the lively discussion of questions in classes and employment of the so-called active methods and forms of propaganda. And at the same time the main form of training at propaganda seminars frequently remains the monologue--lecture, paper or report. Very little time is devoted at the seminars to an investigation and discussion of typical mistakes, "practical games," open classes

*This publication, p 7.

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and so forth. Insufficient attention is being paid to the style, form and tone of propaganda. And this applies not only to the propagandists but also other categories of ideological personnel.

For this reason we are endeavoring increasingly actively to create support schools for disseminating the best propaganda experience and to introduce such forms of work with propagandists and other ideological personnel as practical assignments and the discussion of books, theatrical performances and motion pictures. We are conducting more classes in psychology, logic, pedagogics, sociological analysis methods and the art of oratory.

We express profound gratitude to the party Central Committee for the organization and realization of the all-union seminar-conference and note with satisfaction its timeliness, high theoretical level and great practical value. Its material will undoubtedly serve to perfect ideological work in the Moscow city party organization and further improve Muscovites' education in a spirit of the great ideals of communism.

* A.S. Kapto, secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee: "Communist Education--Comprehensiveness and Purposefulness"

It is not that long since the start of the historic 26th CPSU Congress and the day when the fundamental analysis of the main processes of world development contained in the CPSU Central Committee Report delivered by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, an analysis imbued with revolutionary spirit and an innovative approach to urgent economic and social problems, became the property of all progressive mankind. But even this brief interval of time has been sufficient for us to see what a tremendous impact the congress' documents are having and will continue to have on the sociopolitical life of society.

The Ukraine's party committees have initiated work extensively on propaganda of the documents and material of the 26th CPSU Congress. It is being organized on a practical basis, without undue haste and is being performed consistently and purposefully in all labor collectives and among all categories of the population. It is being performed by over 1.5 million of the most skilled cadres and activists. The labor collectives are at the center of their attention. Immediately following completion of the congress, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and the obkoms sent propaganda groups into the labor collectives. They assisted the primary party organizations in the development of propaganda of its decisions.

A uniform political day was held in the republic on 25 March on the theme "Lenin's Way of Creation and Peace". There have been lectures, papers and talks in 337,000 labor collectives. These have been attended by more than 21 million people--practically the entire adult population of the republic. Some 2,784 delegates to the 26th CPSU and Ukrainian Communist Party congresses, 590 USSR and republic supreme soviet deputies, ministry and department leaders and party-soviet activists--over 600,000 people altogether--took part in meetings and conversations with the working people on this day.

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Thousands of new political schools and seminars have been created in the labor collectives in the system of party, Komsomol and economic training in addition to the existing network. More than 13 million persons altogether are studying the congress' material in the political and economic education system.

In developing propaganda of the congress' documents the republic's party committees are paying considerable attention to ensuring that it encompass as fully as possible the student youth: senior graders, tekhnikum and vocational-technical school trainees and students.

The speeches to such a dynamic social group as the students are prepared purposefully, for example. It is now that a precise system of the students' regular notification of urgent questions of CPSU policy is taking shape in the Ukraine's VUZ's. Uniform political days are held quarterly in all the VUZ's. Permanent lecture series for student activists have been organized in the major VUZ centers. Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee secretaries, party and soviet workers, ministry and department and VUZ leaders and personalities of science and culture speak here regularly. Thus the activists are obtaining a reference point for lectures and talks before mass student audiences. And every next speech is planned and organized, furthermore, with regard for continuity and on the basis of an analysis of students' questions put at previous meetings.

For an explanation of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress at the place of residence special goal-oriented visits of agitation-propaganda groups and agitation teams to remote villages and farmsteads are practiced everywhere, new agitation sites are being opened and political information evenings are being held. Active use is also being made of such tested forms as sociopolitical readings, lecture series, motion picture lecture courses, the people's universities and so forth.

The necessary attention is being paid in the work at the place of residence to such a category of the population as the pensioners. Rayon pensioner meetings have become a part of practice in Kiev, Kherson and other Ukrainian cities at which rayon-level leaders speak. Lectures and talks on sociopolitical subjects are combined here with answers to questions of concern to war and labor veterans and with trips to enterprises, new construction projects and sociocultural facilities.

Such a category of working people as long-distance sailors is singled out in Odesskaya, Nikolayevskaya, Krymskaya, Donestskaya and certain other oblasts. Tape recordings of lectures, talks and the speeches of delegates to the 26th CPSU Congress, sets of slides, motion pictures, film strips, transparencies and minilibraries to help lecturers, propagandists, political information workers and agitators are sent to ships far from the motherland.

In organizing the study of the 26th CPSU Congress' material we are displaying concern for the qualitative aspect and for ensuring a high theoretical and methods level of propaganda work. Oblast, city and rayon seminars for ideological activists were conducted everywhere here in the first half of March to this end, meetings with delegates to the 26th CPSU Congress were organized

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and the appropriate methods developments were prepared. We are endeavoring to ensure that the material of the congress be studied in close connection with the entire wealth of the ideological heritage of Marxism-Leninism, the documents and decisions of the 23d, 24th and 25th CPSU congresses and Central Committee plenums and the works and speeches of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev. It was the qualitative aspect which was given priority in the examination in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee of the question of the work of the party organizations of Chernigovskaya Oblast on propaganda and explanation of the decisions and material of the 26th CPSU Congress.

The propagandists, lecturers and rapporteurs are closely linking the content of their speeches with the socioeconomic tasks confronting the collectives and endeavoring to determine the place of each industrial enterprise, kolkhoz, sovkhoz, establishment and individual in their accomplishment.

We aspire to the harmonious combination of approved, traditional forms of propaganda and the study of party decisions with new forms. Among these we may mention the preparation of large-scale television and radio broadcasts, the formation of young people's scientific-technical programs, journalists' joint briefings of competing oblasts and distinctive social orders to the republic's scientists providing for fundamental research into the problems raised in the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress.

The "Tribune of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences" permanent lecture series, for example, has gained extensive popularity among the Kiev working people. Its purpose is to explain the latest discoveries and achievements of science and technology and completed scientific developments and actively assist the combination of science and production. In the time that the lecture series has been conducted there have been 24 meetings at which scientists have delivered reports to the city's public. Similar meetings are also conducted on the basis of regional scientific centers of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences in the cities of Dnepropetrovsk, Kar'kov, Donetsk, L'vov and Odessa.

A new form may emerge as the result of the development of forms of ideological work which have existed hitherto. Let us take, for example, the uniform political day. It was born here at the rayon level and subsequently came to be conducted within an oblast framework. Republic political days, on which ideological influence extends simultaneously to 15-20 million working people, have now become a part of practice.

Whereas previously the material collected in the course of a uniform political day was systematized and collated on a rayon scale and sometimes that of an individual oblast, this is now done on the scale of the republic, on whose territory over 50 million people live. For example, 270,000 questions and proposals were received from the working people at meetings and in conversation with them on 25 March alone. Party workers and scientists have received a wealth of material for the study of public opinion and its purposeful formation. The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee regularly analyzes the questions that are received and enlists the appropriate Central Committee departments, the republic Council of Ministers and ministries and departments in their solution. Similar work is being performed locally.

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We will continue to refine the forms of the traditional republic Propagandist's Day in order to contribute to the increased authority and, if you will, attractiveness of propaganda work. Meetings in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo with representatives of various categories of working people and party activists have become an effective form of work. Meetings with instructors, propagandists, war veterans, production pacesetters and Komsomol workers have been held just recently.

Propaganda and study of the documents of the 26th CPSU Congress are combined in the republic with the timely support for and extensive dissemination of labor initiatives. The mass information and propaganda organs are giving a pretty good account of themselves here. Very important questions of a solicitous attitude toward public property, particularly toward metal and land, were raised in articles by G.Ya. Gorban', celebrated steel worker, twice hero of socialist labor and delegate to the 26th CPSU Congress, in RABOCHAYA GAZETA and also in a letter-appeal to all grain growers from Hero of Socialist Labor Ye.N. Parubok, the well-known machine operator, in the newspaper SIL'SKI VISTI. The collective of the Arc Welding Institute imeni Ye.O. Paton has appealed for the development of socialist competition under the motto "The Union of Creative Thought and Creative Labor for the Accelerated Creation and Introduction of New Equipment and Technology". These initiatives have been approved by the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee. They have already been supported by hundreds of labor collectives and tens of thousands of working people.

Work on the dissemination of the labor collectives' patriotic initiatives aimed at an increase in labor productivity, an acceleration of scientific-technical progress and an improvement in product quality has assumed a more specific and purposeful nature in the course of propaganda of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress. Among these we may mention many valuable undertakings: "Progressive Experience for Every Labor Collective, Progressive Work Methods at Every Place of Work," "The Highest Results From Every Working Hour," "From Top-Quality Steel to Rolled Metal With the Symbol of Quality," "Projects Nearing Completion To Be Introduced Ahead of Schedule, "1,000 Kilometers a Day for 5-Year Plan Freight" and others. Particular attention is being paid to the further dissemination of initiatives and undertakings approved by the CPSU Central Committee.

An object of the Ukrainian party organizations' constant concern is a further improvement in ideological education at enterprises of heavy industry and, particularly, its base sectors—fuel-energy, metallurgical and chemical industry--and at shock construction sites. The republic's party committees are endeavoring to concentrate this work as much as possible and clearly determine the role and place both of oral and printed propaganda in the accomplishment of the key tasks of the 11th Five-Year Plan.

In the work on explanation of the congress' documents we are endeavoring to make use of the wealth of experience and new forms which have appeared in the party organizations of Moscow, Leningrad and the fraternal republics.

We regard what has been done in the republic on propaganda of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress merely as a start and as a period of mass familiarization with the main economic and sociopolitical evaluations and propositions contained in the congress' material. A great deal of work still has

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to be done on the systematic study and extended theoretical interpretation and practical fulfillment of the decisions of the highest party forum.

All these questions have been reflected in organizational-political measures of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee. They were extensively discussed at a meeting of the republic's party activists and examined at a Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee plenum. It is essential that their solution presuppose a further refinement of ideological-educational activity on the basis of a comprehensive approach thereto and the development of the long-term problems connected with fulfillment of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's instructions concerning the need for the reorganization of many areas and spheres of ideological work.

Reorganization as we understand it is by no means a fundamental break with the evolved system and organizational components of ideological work. The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee orients the party committees toward a thoughtful approach to this problem and demands that there not be undue haste or a departure from reality. In reorganizing ideological-educational activity we are relying primarily on the available experience of the competent and effective organization of the educational process. And this is everywhere. For example, the Donetskaya Oblast party organization is performing fruitful work on the working people's occupational and moral training. Special services of regulation of the moral-psychological climate have given a good account of themselves at many enterprises of Dneptopetrovskaya Oblast. In L'vovskaya Oblast work has been skillfully organized on overcoming the influence of bourgeois-nationalist propaganda and in Chernigovskaya Oblast on patriotic and international education.

Scientific-practical conferences, particularly those organized by the CPSU Central Committee, are a good form of the analysis and collation of positive experience in the organization of communist education. It is essential that the positive experience be extended, developed and disseminated. It is impossible to tackle the new tasks effectively without this. It is no less important to study in depth and analyze everything new that is born of practice and formulate recommendations for the party organizations on this basis. We see the collation, dissemination and effective introduction of the progressive experience of communist education as a principal element of the reorganization of the ideological process.

Another component thereof we consider the selection and training of ideological personnel capable of grasping in detail what is not working and where and answering the question why. After all, it is no secret that we still have people who are not averse to concealing their own inactiveness behind verbiage about allegedly outmoded forms of ideological influence on the masses. But upon a more careful examination it transpires that there is absolutely no problem and that it is merely necessary to work and work with maximum input. Selecting people who like their work and teaching them and training them--this is the crux of the matter.

In recent years we have encountered increasingly the need to improve the retraining of this category of agitation-propaganda personnel or the other.

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The sectorial form of the training of economic school and seminar leaders has been expanded and the certification of lecturers of the party committees and the "Znaniye" Society has been undertaken for this purpose. Five republic and 11 oblast correspondence lecturer-training departments have been set up under the auspices of the leading VUZ's. Work is being done on the creation under "Znaniye" Society auspices of a lecturer personnel retraining institute.

Due attention is being paid to an increase in the qualifications of personnel engaged in criticism of bourgeois nationalism, international Zionism and religious extremism. Three republic permanent seminars have been set up on these issues. Two-year lecturer courses are functioning on the basis of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee's Higher Party School.

A system of the training and retraining of atheistic personnel has been developed. Various forms of training extend to over 100,000 lecturer-atheists. Some 25 oblast and 2 city centers for the training of organizers of new Soviet holidays and rituals have been created.

In a word, the training of ideological personnel has improved in many respects. It is now time, we believe, to unify these scattered efforts and create a uniform system of the training of ideological personnel of all categories.

Such a system is now being developed by the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, which will make it possible to exercise centralized leadership of the training and retraining of ideological personnel.

One further important element of the reorganization of the ideological process is the shift of the center of ideological-educational activity directly to the labor collectives. The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee has approved concrete measures for stepping up political education in the primary production cells. The main accent here is put on the efficient use of the educational resources at the disposal of the party organizations and practical assistance to them on the part of the rayon, oblast and republic organizations.

We shall not be successful here without in-depth sociological research, the systematic performance of which is also a most important element of the reorganization of the ideological process. We have planned the performance of such research into a whole number of urgent problems concerning the fostering of reasonable requirements and an increase in the educational functions of the labor collective and sources of information and their effectiveness and influence on the shaping of public opinion.

We are placing big hopes in this respect in the recently opened sociology departments at the Kiev and Khar'kov universities and the research into the most important questions of the CPSU's ideological activity under the conditions of developed socialism being performed by the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Institute of Party History and institutes of the republic Academy of Sciences.

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The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee is currently studying a proposal for the creation of a single republic scientific research center for the theory and methods of ideological work capable of coordinating the activity of individual departments and groups engaged in this set of problems. Proposals are being prepared on the creation of a republic Political Education Center from the staff of the oblast political education centers.

And, finally, concerning a further important aspect of a refinement of ideological work. I refer to a further improvement in the activity of the mass information and propaganda media. The republic Communist Party Central Committee has developed concrete measures to this end. The main areas and subject matter of press articles and television and radio broadcasts in the light of the decisions of the 26th party congress have been determined. The briefing of journalists has improved. In particular, press conferences in which members of the Politburo and secretaries of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party and obkom secretaries participate are held monthly. Press relations groups are being created under ministry and department auspices. The transmission of RATAU reports to the press organs is differentiated in order to avoid duplication as far as possible.

The work practice of the editorial offices includes open-letter days at the working people's place of work, training and residence. Measures have been outlined for an improvement in the selection, assignment and training of journalist personnel, the planning of journalist training in the universities and a reinforcement of the press' physical plant. All these and other questions will become an integral part of the "Press" comprehensive program being drawn up in the republic.

In accordance with the directives of the 26th CPSU Congress, the republic party committees are doing much to further improve ideological and political education. But a great deal remains to be done. Armed with the historic decisions of the party congress, the thousands-strong army of the republic's ideological fighters will make a fitting contribution to the formation of the new man and our great common cause--the building of communism.

* V.M. Borisenkov, secretary of the Moscow Obkom: "Increasing the Role of Propaganda and Agitation in Realization of the Decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress"

In the party organizations and labor collectives of the Moscow area, as in other oblasts of the country, familiarization of the broad working people's masses with Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's report and other material of the congress began while the 26th CPSU Congress was still at work even.

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Immediately following the congress, the obkom held an oblast conference of ideological workers, at which Comrade V.I. Konotop, first secretary of the Moscow Gorkom, delivered the report "Results of the 26th CPSU Congress and the Tasks of the Oblast's Party Organizations". Similar meetings were also held in all gorkoms and raykoms and large-scale party organizations. They were addressed by gorkom and raykom first secretaries and congress delegates, and recommendations were made concerning propaganda and study of the CPSU Central Committee Report and other documents of the congress. Questions of propaganda of the material of the congress were discussed at plenums of the oblast Council of Trade Unions, Komsomol obkom and oblast "Znaniye" Society organization. A uniform political day was held in the oblast in March on the theme "Lenin's Way of Communist Creation and Peace" on the results of the 26th CPSU Congress. Fifteen propaganda groups, which addressed 400, predominantly rural, labor collectives, were sent to remote areas of the oblast. By the start of April we had managed to have made almost all ideological personnel part of active agitation and propaganda in the majority of party organizations.

Study of the congress' documents is currently under way in all party organizations in the system of party and Komsomol training and economic education. Obkom executives and gorkom and raykom first secretaries and bureau members and staff workers have participated in conducting classes.

The obkom bureau examined the question "Propaganda and Study of the Material of the 26th CPSU Congress in the Mytishchinskaya City Party Organization" and the Moscow Gorkom Economic Education Council examined the question "Study of the CPSU Central Committee Report to the 26th Party Congress in the Economic Education System at the Glukhov and Orekhov Cotton Works".

The classes have shown that the communists and nonparty people are studying and discussing with great interest the propositions and conclusions of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's report and the urgent problems of party policy. These classes are conducted in a creative, businesslike atmosphere, as a rule. The propagandists and the audiences are attempting to link the propositions of the CPSU Central Committee Report with the tasks of their labor collectives and their own work. There is a frank discussion at the classes concerning the inculcation of high political and moral qualitites, active positions in life and law and order, drunkenness, sloppiness and consumerist and philistine sentiments. Questions of political vigilance and the need for the emphatic exposure of bourgeois and revisionist ideology and anti-Sovietism are being raised sharply.

Study of the congress' material is contributing to an increase in communists' vanguard role in production and in all public-political life. The party committees are striving to ensure that every communist study the congress' material in depth, propagandize its ideas actively and do everything necessary for the accomplishment of the tasks outlined by the congress.

The initiative of progressive workers of Moscow and Leningrad--fulfilling the annual quota by 7 November--has been extensively supported in the oblast.

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Such pledges have already been adopted by approximately 150,000 persons working in industry, including more than 81,000 communists, and 54 textile workers have given their word on fulfilling two-three 5-year quotas in the 5-year plan.

Comrade L.I. Brezhnev recently congratulated the textile workers V.Ye. Lokteva and N.I. Grigor'yeva on the ahead-of-schedule fulfillment of the annual plan. Each of them has pledged to fulfill 20 annual quotas in the 5 years. And they are keeping their word.

Questions of an improvement in the organization of socialist competition are constantly at the center of the oblast party organization's attention. A very important part here is played by mass-political work. The party organizations are using the entire arsenal of mass information and propaganda media in order to extensively show the experience of the pacesetters. Thus almost all workers of our oblast's textile industry knew literally the next day of the labor victory of V.Ye. Lokteva and N.I. Grigor'yeva. And we have 273,000 of them. Our main efforts are aimed at involving every working person in socialist comeptition.

Some 593,000 working people are currently participating in competition under the motto "Personal Efficiency Accounts for All Brigades and Workers, a Personal Creative Plan for Every Specialist". In such cities as Elektrostal', Podol'sk, Kolomna and Balashikha practically all enterprise workers and engineering-technical personnel are involved in this competition. The obkom bureau has approved the experience of its initiators--the Elektrostal' workers. The party committees are working persistently on a further improvement in socialist competition on the basis of personal efficiency accounts.

A further increase in labor productivity is very important for our oblast--there is a manpower shortage in many leading areas of production. Labor productivity growth potential is being sought in all the labor collectives. A new direction in the movement for high labor productivity has been determined in the joint quest of textile industry operator-innovators and engineering-technical personnel. Plan-based engineering support for the work of the multiple-loom operators in the Kurovskoye Melange Production Association and at the Orekhov Cotton Works has made it possible to create areas of high productivity.

The experience of these collectives has been approved by the obkom bureau and is being propagandized extensively. Some 1,160 areas of high labor productivity in which the workers' labor productivity level is 20-30 percent above the sectorial average have already been created in the oblast's textile and light industry. The organization of such areas affords an opportunity of affecting the transition to the above-standard zone of servicing of the looms and machinery not only for individual progressive workers but also entire brigade, shift and shop collectives. Currently 94 percent of spinners and 90 percent of weavers of the oblast operate in an above-standard servicing zone. The workers' mass transition to multiple-loom servicing has made it possible recently to transfer 850 highly skilled workers to looms and machinery which were hitherto idle.

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The creation of high labor productivity areas and the transition to multiple-loom, above-standard servicing have also revealed a big discrepancy between the work of certain pacesetters and the so-called "middling" workers. The question arises of how to pull the middling level of work up to the advanced level as quickly as possible.

Accumulated experience testifies that this problem can be solved with the help of the brigade form of the organization and stimulation of labor. Following Muscovites' example, the oblast's party organizations have switched in to the propaganda and dissemination of this experience the system of party training and economic education, communist labor schools, the mass information media and oral and visual propaganda. The brigade form is now being introduced in all sectors of the national economy. Almost 22,000 brigades have already been created. A study of the results of their work in different sectors of the economy persuades us that with this organization of labor a person's creative potential, his professional training and his moral qualities are revealed more fully and a good atmosphere evolves for people's education in a collectivist spirit.

Any initiative aimed at an increase in labor productivity requires the daily support of the party organizations. The efficacy and efficiency of different forms and means of ideological support are checked out here. The rapidity and scale of a new initiative's dissemination largely depend on how it is propaganized and the nature of the agitation for its introduction.

Proceeding from the guidelines of the 25th and 26th CPSU congresses, the obkom, gorkoms and raykoms and the primary party organizations are endeavoring to ensure the unity of ideological-theoretical, political-educational and organizing and economic activity. Great significance is attached here to the skillful use of the positive experience of ideological work which has already been accumulated.

The Elektrostal'skiy Gorkom's experience of the analysis of the state and results of ideological education in the labor collectives and in the city as a whole is of definite interest in this respect. An office of party work experience was opened in the gorkom recently. It is designed to analyze, collate and disseminate the best experience of the work of the party committees, primary party organizations and party groups and render the party machinery workers and the ideological and party-economic activists procedural and practical assistance in a refinement of the forms and methods of organizational and ideological work and in an improvement in the style of party leadership of economic and cultural building. The works of the classical authors of Marxism-Leninism, material of party congresses, CPSU Central Committee decrees, a vast amount of literature on various fields of organizational-party, ideological and economic work and a great deal of reference material are concentrated in the office. The structure of the control of ideological education in the city is graphically represented in charts and outlines and on stands. Active use of the available information is made by party, economic and ideological workers. The Elektrostal'skiy Gorkom has equipped the office such that it is pleasant to work in it. The premises are tastefully decorated and the information is stored in separate files on open stands. It is easy for everyone to find the material of interest to him here.

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Sociological research is also contributing to the collation and dissemination of progressive experience. A careful analysis of the results obtained enables the gorkom to objectively evaluate the state of organizational-party and ideological work in this party organization or the other and adopt well-considered decisions.

The obkom has studied the practice of the work of the positive experience office in the Elektrostal'skiy Gorkom and conducted a seminar of gorkom and raykom ideological workers, at which creative use of this experience was recommended.

The obkom regularly conducts seminars of ideological activists on an exchange of experience of the best kolkhoz and sovkhoz party organizations. Such a seminar was held recently in Dmitrovskiy Rayon, and its participants were familiarized with the experience of the ideological-political work of the party organizations of the "Dmitrovskiy" Sovkhoz and the Yakhromskiy Sovkhoz-Tekhnikum in the spring sowing period.

Under the conditions of intensification of the national economy great significance is attached to the economic education of the workers, kolkhoz members, engineering-technical personnel and the managers. "It is wrong to believe," Comrade L.I. Brezhnev emphasized, "that only important scientists and leaders deal with economic laws. These laws, if correctly understood, dictate a logic of behavior not only to the administrator, engineer, scientist and technician but to every ordinary worker and kolkhoz member also."*

Many propagandists make skillful use in the classes of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's books "Vozrozhdeniye" and "Tselina" and his speeches on questions of the development of the country's economy and problems of the working people's communist education.

Scientific-practical conferences on urgent questions of the oblast's economy have become an effective form of economic education here. The obkom has held conferences devoted to problems of an increase in efficiency and work quality at textile and light industry enterprises and economies in live labor expenditure based on the achievements of scientific-technical progress in construction, a refinement of the economic mechanism and the increased role of socialist competition in communist building.

The material of the conferences and the adopted recommendations are discussed, as a rule, at classes in the economic education system, which exerts a positive influence on the entire educational process. Thus in the course of discussion of the recommendations of the scientific-practical conference "Progressive Experience in the System of Measures To Refine the Economic Mechanism" the propagandists presented the initiative of a supplementary class on the theme "My Contribution to the 5-Year Plan". The obkom supported this initiative and recommended that a creative, businesslike approach be adopted to these classes. These classes were held everywhere in January and February 1981; they summed up the students' fulfillment of the counterplans

*L.I. Brezhnev, "Lenin's Way," Moscow, 1973, vol 1, p 383.

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and socialist pledges in 1980. There was a thorough discussion of everyone's plans for the 11th 5-year period.

In the light of the requirements of the 26th CPSU Congress the oblast party organization has much to do to improve work with people in the lagging collectives, particularly in the countryside.

The oblast has progressive, average and lagging farms. Following a thorough study of the state of affairs, 100 sovkhozes and kolkhozes proved to be stragglers. Serious gaps in ideological education were revealed on a number of them.

The obkom has set the task of a sharp reduction in the number of lagging farms in the 11th Five-Year Plan. Comprehensive brigades made up of specialists and party workers were sent to these kolkhozes and sovkhozes at the start of the year to render the farms practical assistance. The brigades were headed by secretaries, bureau members and department chiefs of the obkom. With the help of rayon and oblast specialists each farm has drawn up development plans for 1981 and the period through 1985. Their implementation is being monitored currently. The lagging farms are visited regularly by obkom secretaries and other executives of the oblast, who deliver political reports there and help strengthen the economy and solve questions of capital construction, striving for an increase in the returns on invested capital.

One of our priority tasks is bringing the lagging farms up to strength with personnel, primarily milkers. We have a shortage of them here. There are many reasons for this. The gorkoms and raykoms are now working on ensuring that each rayon send Komsomol-youth detachments to the livestock farmsteads. The first such detachment of 70 persons has already been formed in Lukhovitskiy Rayon. It includes 53 school leavers who have expressed a wish to work as milkers. The work among the young people is also producing results in other rayons of the oblast also. But this is only a start. Much work has to be done to ensure that each rayon dispatch its own youth detachment into animal husbandry. And the party organizations have embarked on this task actively. We attach particular significance in the solution of all these questions to educational, mass-political work.

Our seminar-conference will undoubtedly contribute to the further improvement of the forms and methods of ideological work and its increased effectiveness and fruitfulness in the light of the requirements of the 26th CPSU Congress.

*V.G. Zakharov, secretary of the Leningrad Obkom: "For the Closer Unity of Economic, Organizational and Ideological Factors in Party Work"

The CPSU Central Committee Report delivered at the congress by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev made an in-depth and comprehensive analysis of the main problems and processes affecting mankind. This document combines the creative development of Marxism-Leninism with the formulation of urgent tasks for the party and the people.

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Comrade M.A. Suslov's introductory remarks and the papers at our seminar-conference have concretized the tasks confronting ideological workers. We have been armed with a great deal of factual and methodological material, and it is our duty to make productive use of it.

Leningraders laid a good foundation in the 10th Five-Year Plan for further progress. Industrial production in Leningrad and the oblast increased almost 23 percent. The industrial output increase alone constituted R21 billion. The 5-year quota for the production and sale to the state of the main types of agricultural product was fulfilled successfully. The work of the construction, transport and services' sphere workers improved. Many social questions were solved.

We regard the high evaluation of the activity of the Leningrad Oblast party organization with respect to the development of the creative activeness of the production collectives, the dissemination of progressive initiatives and undertakings and the communist education of the working people which Comrade L.I. Brezhnev made at the congress as an appeal for a further upsurge of efficiency and work quality.

A meeting of Leningrad party organization activists, which discussed the results of the 26th CPSU Congress and the communists' tasks ensuing from its decisions, determined the concrete paths of realization of the program outlined for the 11th Five-Year Plan in the economic, social and cultural spheres.

The obkom sees it as its priority duty to convey the ideas and decisions of the congress and their content to the minds and hearts of every communist and every Soviet individual. The party organizations are organizing this work with regard for the tasks and specific features of the labor collectives, directing efforts toward an increase in everyone's awareness and responsibility for his assignment.

A great deal of work has been done in the political and economic training system. Particular attention has been paid to the training of propaganda personnel. Classes have been organized with every category thereof. The Political Education Center has published a special "Methods Bulletin". The gorkoms and raykoms and primary party organizations have drawn up material on the results of the labor collectives' activity in the 10th Five-Year Plan and on the prospects of their economic and social development.

A big role in this work is performed by the "Television School of the Propagandist". The television school has organized a series of instructional-methods broadcasts, lectures and talks on the congress' material.

The obkom bureau examined the question of the organizing and political activity of the Volkhovskiy Gorkom with respect to study and propaganda of the material of the 26th party congress. The results of the first stage of the work of the party committees of Leningrad and the oblast were summed up and ways to intensify it were outlined.

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The party committees have been able to properly appreciate the vital significance of the CPSU Central Committee decree "A Further Improvement in Ideological and Political Education" in the last 2 years. The conclusions and recommendations of this decree have become the basis of the oblast party organization's political-educational activity and are determining the paths of the reorganization of ideological work dealt with at the congress.

In accordance with the requirements of the CPSU Central Committee and the instructions of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, the obkom has increased its attention to the organization of political education. The composition of ideological commissions has been reviewed, party committee lecture groups have been strengthened and so forth. As in the country as a whole, uniform political days have become a part of practice. A system of the analysis and collation of questions raised at them by the working people is currently being worked out. Fuller account has come to be taken of the educational consequences of management and administrative decisions.

The obkom has done much recently to enhance the scientific level of propaganda and agitation. It has become the rule to extensively enlist leading scientists and specialists in the preparation of party committee plenums and bureau meetings upon an analysis of various aspects of the life of the labor collectives.

Sociological groups or laboratories have been created in many raykoms as a public service. The working people's public opinion on the most important economic, social and political issues is studied. Thus a mass sociological poll of the working population was conducted in Leningrad on 5 March, 2 days after the congress. The extent of the workers' and employees' information concerning the congress' material and the working people's attitude toward the urgent problems of the new 5-year plan were studied. The results obtained are enabling us to reveal incipient problems and adopt measures to tackle them.

The whole point is to ensure that the results of the research and the concrete recommendations be introduced in practical activity more rapidly. We have many examples of the good use of the results of sociological research, but there are also examples of these services running idle. The sociological groups and laboratories are currently scattered. There is an urgent need for the better coordination of all forms of sociological service and the creation of uniform methodological leadership of their actions. The USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Socioeconomic Problems could evidently be such a coordinating center in Leningrad.

The CPSU Central Committee decree pays considerable attention to the need for an improvement in the planning of the educational process. Definite experience of this work has been accumulated here. The comprehensive plans of the economic and social development of Leningrad and the oblast and the rayons and labor collectives incorporate sections devoted to the communist education of the working people. Their provisions are concretized in the party committees' work plans. Much is being done in this respect by the obkom's Economic and Social Development Council.

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We are endeavoring to ensure the closer unity of economic, organizational and ideological factors in the accomplishment of the set task and work concretely and purposefully. With the help of scientists a procedure of the compilation of the section on problems of the working people's communist education has been developed in the plans of the economic and social development of the labor collective, the administrative rayon and Leningrad and the oblast. This procedure employs a system of comparative indicators which afford an opportunity for evaluating not only the quantitative but also qualitative aspect of the educational process and comparing its results more objectively.

I would like to mention that the reorganization of certain areas and spheres of ideological work has required an improvement in the quality of political training. We are striving persistently to ensure that knowledge become the personal conviction of the students and an active life position.

The obkom has supported new forms and methods of instruction which are being introduced in the "Kirovskiy zavod," "Svetlana," LOMO and "Elektrosila" associations, where an effective struggle is being waged for the students' high labor and public-political assertiveness.

At the same time the accomplishment of the task set by the 26th congress of an increase in the quality of the training requires somewhat of an improvement in its system.

First, there is an urgent need for a revision of its structure. The time has now come, evidently, to dispense more boldly with the primary component of party training. The overwhelming majority of the communists involved here are pensioners, for whom training should, we believe, be a voluntary matter. As far as the contingent which is beginning political training is concerned, it consists almost entirely of people with secondary education. Under these conditions it is necessary to concentrate efforts on an improvement in the higher forms of training.

Second, it is essential, as observed at the 26th CPSU Congress, that party training be the training precisely of communists. Unfortunately, there also a considerable proportion of the students of the theoretical seminars and schools are not CPSU members.

It was emphasized at the 26th party congress that in the organization of political education and its increased effectiveness the main figure is the propagandist, on the extent of whose training and maturity the scientific level of the political training depends. Almost all the propagandists here now have higher and incomplete higher education, while a considerable proportion of them has higher political education.

A differentiated system of the instruction and prompt briefing of the propaganda personnel has been created and forms of its moral encouragement have been worked out in the party committees. We are currently working on providing each ideological worker, primarily the propagandist, with higher political education.

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Much has been done in this area. Thus the number of students at the university of Marxism-Leninism has increased. The training of professors and lecturers for the political training of rayon teachers and propagandists has given a good account of itself. At the same time the universities of Marxism-Leninism must concern themselves to an even greater extent with the graduation of propaganda personnel. This, I believe, should be their main task.

It is also necessary to further improve the system of propagandist briefing.

Fulfilling the instructions of the party Central Committee, the Leningrad Obkom is endeavoring to increase the practicality, specificity and efficiency of ideological activity and link it more closely with practice. At the current stage the center of political education is concentrated in the labor collectives, where, in Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's words, the grand concepts of politics and economics are translated into the language of practice.

The obkom is directing the party, soviet and management authorities toward an emphatic struggle for an increase in production efficiency and work quality, the acceleration of labor productivity growth, a strengthening of state, labor and plan discipline and an acceleration of the pace of scientific-technical progress.

Particular significance is attached in the accomplishment of these tasks to the development of brigade methods of work, whose advantages are common knowledge. The number of brigades here more than doubled in the last 5-year plan, one-half of them is working on a single job-order, and the labor participation coefficient is employed in the distribution of the wage in one out of every five.

Progressive forms of the organization of labor are contributing to the formation of high moral principles and an increased sense of responsibility of each to the collective and of the collective to each and are creating practicable conditions for the working people's active participation in the management of production. Educational work is performed more purposefully and individually here.

The brigades' influence on all aspects of the life and activity of the labor collectives is growing. It was in the foremost brigades that initiatives approved by the obkom--securing an increase in the manufacture of products at operating facilities and an increase in the volume of scientific research at the same time as an actual reduction in the number of workers and fulfillment of the 5-day quota in 4 days--were born.

The brigade method is to become the main method in the 11th Five-Year Plan. With the consolidation and creation of comprehensive brigades they will become significant primary labor cells. All this requires an increase in their organizing and political-educational work.

We are now perfecting the system of the instruction of brigade leaders. They are studying the fundamentals of pedagogics and psychology. A considerable

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amount of work is being performed on the creation of party groups in the brigades. There is also point, evidently, in giving thought to each local collective having an educational work organizer.

It is well known that a person's moral world is shaped not only in labor; a system of work is taking shape here at the place of residence which permits the more rational use of enterprise, school and public organization resources, the strengthening of the housing offices' physical plant and the coordination of the efforts of the sponsors, the public and the adminstrative authorities with respect to prevention of infringements of the law.

The experience accumulated in Gatchinskiy, Moskovskiy and Petrogradskiy rayons prompted the idea of the creation of a rayon social ID. It includes a social description of the population, data on the physical plant of the ideological establishments and also information on the people participating in work with the population. The social ID makes it possible to take account of each rayon's specific features. This experience is being studied and disseminated.

Proceeding from Lenin's instruction that the education of future generations consolidates everything gained by the revolution and taking into consideration the acute nature of the ideological struggle in the modern world, the Leningrad Oblast party organization considers an improvement in the communist education of the youth as one of its most important tasks. There is a special section in the obkom devoted to work with the younger generation.

What is most important, in our view, is the continuous nature, consistency and differentiated approach of the educational process. At the behest of the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department we are currently developing a procedure of the organization of occupational training for different categories of the youth.

I would like in this connection to dwell on the training and education of young men and women in the vocational-technical education system, which in Leningrad and the oblast has become the principal source of the replenishment of the working class.

A refinement of the vocational guidance of the schoolchildren, an improvement in the teaching-educational process in the vocational-technical schools, a reinforcement of their physical plant and provision with teaching personnel, the increased role of the labor collectives in the training of young workers and the further development of mentorship--all these have made it possible to markedly improve the training of a worthy replenishment of the working class.

We have created 89 modern vocational-technical school complexes here in the last 10 years where there is every opportunity for fruitful study, sports and the amateur arts. Every vocational-technical school now provides the trainees with secondary education besides an occupation.

The following facts attest the results of the work that has been done. Approximately 40 percent of eighth graders go from high school to vocational-technical schools annually, and one out of every six schools accepts trainees

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following competitive school-leaving certificate review. In the last 5-year plan the vocational-technical schools trained more than 300,000 workers, who constitute the nucleus of the labor collectives. And we are gratified that the enterprises have an ever increasing number of dynasties of workers who are vocational-technical school graduates.

We believe that the set tasks have been accomplished, in the main in a quantitative respect. At the same time work with this contingent of the youth has its difficulties and problems, including those in moral education. For this reason we are setting the task of a rise in the quality not only of vocational training but also of the development of the future workers.

Particular significance is attached to the honing of the system of the personal assignment of vocational-technical school graduates, which is in its second experimental year. The young men and women are now assigned not merely to enterprises but to a specific shop and a specific brigade and, for the most part, where they have done practical work hitherto. This is contributing to the better retention of the young production workers and to their development.

The training of highly skilled masters of industrial training, who are, essentially, the main participants in the educational process, remains a problem, as before. To put an end to the shortage in this category of workers we are taking various paths: we are broadening the graduation of masters with secondary specialized education on the basis of the Industrial-Pedagogical Tekhnikum and attracting the best workers to the schools. Thus in recent years alone twice Hero of Socialist Labor A.P. Mikhalev, 6 heroes of socialist labor, 2 USSR State Prize winners and over 700 production pacesetters and innovators have transferred to work in the vocational-technical schools.

But many difficulties are being encountered here also. One such is the remuneration of highly skilled production workers who have transferred to the vocational-technical schools. Considering the importance of their work for the national economy, this problem should be settled centrally, we believe.

In the time that has elapsed since the appearance of the CPSU Central Committee decree "An Improvement in Ideological and Political Education" much has been done to improve the work of the mass information and propaganda media. The press has monitored the fulfillment of the most important goal-oriented comprehensive programs, particularly the power-engineering program, and the development of undertakings and initiatives approved by the CPSU Central Committee like the cooperation of the collectives of the Leningrad transport terminal or the ahead-of-schedule fulfillment of orders of the Siberian construction sites, the development of new agricultural complexes and so forth. Measures are being adopted to ensure that the mass information and propaganda media be a true platform for public opinion. The newspapers are publishing more readers' letters, and television has introduced the new "Topical Commentary" broadcast, which answers viewers' questions on problems of the life of the city and the oblast.

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Progress has undoubtedly been made, but far from everything has been done, particularly with respect to an improvement in the quality of the publications. We still have work to do on these matters.

The executive and creative personnel of the newspapers, publishing houses, television and radio and the Leningrad State University Department of Journalism are being reinforced currently and the annual admittance of press workers to the Higher Party School has been increased. An improvement school is operating in the Journalists' Center at which more than 800 people have been retrained. Workers of the rayon and large-circulation papers and local radio are studying in the "Urgent Present-Day Problems" theoretical seminar which has been organized by the Political Education Center. These and other measures are raising the level of the press' work.

The obkom is paying great attention to the growth of party influence on the ideological-artistic process. The political training of creative workers and artistic group party organization secretaries has been stepped up. A seminar of leaders of literature and art establishments under the auspices of the gorkom and seminars of young creative workers under raykom auspices are operating fruitfully. A seminar on questions of literary-artistic criticism under the auspices of the obkom has begun work. The city and oblast production collectives' sponsorship of the creative organizations has been increased. The artistic intelligentsia's cooperation with the collectives of the country's shock construction projects has become more fruitful.

The Leningrad party organization's work on an increase in the population's labor and social assertiveness is being reflected in Leningraders' concrete deeds. Competing under the motto "From the High Quality of the Work of Each to the High Efficiency of the Labor of the Collective," hundreds of thousands of workers have undertaken to complete the annual quota by 7 November. The party organizations are propagandizing this patriotic initiative extensively, directing the working people's efforts toward the unconditional fulfillment of the plan and socialist pledges for 1981.

The communists and all working people of Leningrad and the oblast are applying the utmost knowledge and energy for the successful implementation of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress.

* G.N. Yenukidze, secretary of the Georgian Communist Central Committee: "Ideological Work and the Development of Socialist Democracy"

Among the urgent tasks set the party and the people by the 26th CPSU Congress, a special place is assigned ideological work. Realization of the outlined economic, political, social and organizational measures requires ideological support--on the level both of propaganda and study of the congress' documents and the working people's mobilization for the successful implementation of the congress' decisions.

The party has armed us with a method of an approach to education called comprehensive, which takes account of the fact that world-outlook, moral and occupational factors are constantly interacting with and mutually conditioning one another.

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It is well known that the effectiveness of propaganda is determined in accordance with people's actions. In each individual instance it is important to know on what ground our efforts have fallen and what kind of shoots they have produced. We are currently working on the creation as a public service of an informational-methods center of the scientific organization of ideological work, the provision of the party committees with prompt and concrete information on the processes occurring in all spheres of the republic's public-political life, the development of forecast models of the further development of social processes, the study and dissemination of progressive experience in political education, the collation of critical observations and proposals and the creation of statistical data on question of ideological work.

The effectiveness of the impact on people's minds today depends on the further development of socialist democracy. On the one hand publicity and the accountability of leadership, on the other, the fullest possible consideration of public opinion.

This is promoted here in the republic by leaders' regular meetings with the labor collectives, specific public opinion polls organized by the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Public Opinion Council and also press publications.

At the same time now traditional forms of work require revision mainly in the extent to which the media employed correspond to the set goal. In particular, in order to impart a systematic nature to the leaders' meetings with the working people it was decided to organize their sponsorship of individual schools and seminars in the political enlightenment and economic education system. Currently more than 500 leaders of all levels are regularly addressing audiences on the problems confronting the republic and describing the measures being adopted to solve them. This form of executives' propaganda work has increased the audiences' social activeness considerably.

The uniform political days are also developing the Leninist tradition of executives' communication with the masses. Leaders of party, soviet, trade union, Komsomol and economic planning organizations associated in political rapporteur groups under the auspices of the party committees participate in them, as a rule. But this form of mass-political work has lost its due intensity in places. We see the designation of a uniform political day as ensuring that general political problems be linked with the practical tasks confronting a given region and labor collective and, what is most important, that an exchange of opinions and a lively dialogue be organized. The audiences should have an opportunity to think over questions in advance and the speakers a chance to familiarize themselves with their audience ahead of time, collect the necessary material and ascertain what problems are troubling the labor collectives, what tasks they are tackling at the given stage and what wishes were expressed at past meetings and how they are being realized in practice.

It is also necessary to raise the study of public opinion to a new level and to grasp the very mechanism of its formation and the structure and dynamics of requirements and interests in order to arm oneself with the appropriate program of measures of ideological influence.

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A certain revival of religious and ritualistic celebrations has been observed in the republic recently. We are performing a great deal of work to attract the masses to the new rites and celebrations. Mass folk culture festivals in the David-Garedzhi monastery complex or in honor of Shota Rustaveli in Kakheti and a number of other measures summoned into being new festivities which have subsequently become traditional like the "Tbilisob" festival. This is not simply a city festival, it is a festival of internationalism, friendship, labor and the unity of the working people of the republic. Celebrities and honored citizens of the city and personalities of science and culture take part in it.

Such holidays as Alesha Dzhaparidze Remembrance Day in Onskiy Rayon, the International Youth Friendship Festival in Rukhi and the festivals of labor in Gurdzhaani and Soviet poetry (Mayakovskiy Day) in Kutaisi have also become established.

Great assistance in the realization of such measures is being rendered the party organizations by representatives of the republic's creative intelligentsia, who are participating fruitfully and with interest in everything being undertaken by the republic party organization for the further recovery of the moral climate and the establishment everywhere of the principles of socialist life.

It is well known what role the party assigns questions of the international education of the masses. Paramount significance is attached to these questions in multinational Georgia. But this work requires further development and coordination on a countrywide scale. It is gratifying that the initiative of the republic ZARYA VOSTOKA newspaper, which began a series of articles under the rubric "By Our Brothers We Are Strong," has elicited a good response. Via the newspaper celebrated workers of the republic conduct a correspondence with their colleagues from the fraternal republics, and there is a kind of businesslike and friendly exchange between delegates to the 26th CPSU Congress from competing cities and rayons. This is just one of the good initiatives which it is important to generalize. Such work is being performed by the Georgian Academy of Sciences' Museum of History of the Friendship of the USSR Peoples, whose valuable experience is worth popularizing, I believe.

The constant concern of the party and government and Comrade L.I. Brezhnev personally for the all-around development of the fraternal republics, including the GSSR, which is concretely expressed in most important decisions aimed at strengthening the economy and culture, is regarded by the republic's working people as practical implementation of the party's Leninist nationality policy, which is international in essence. In the same way--soberly and objectively--Georgia's working people evaluate the constructive criticism of shortcomings in their work. It is sufficient to say that the well-known CPSU Central Committee decree of 1972 on the Tbilisskiy Gorkom became the program activity of the republic party organization for many years.

The 26th CPSU Congress made a high evaluation of the work of the Georgian party organization in the period under review. As a republic activists' meeting held following the congress testified, Georgia's communists are fully resolved to underpin this evaluation with new successes, aware of their responsibility to the motherland and understanding how important it is not to be satisfied with what has been achieved. Together with the working class,

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kolkhoz peasantry and intelligentsia of the republic the workers of the ideological front are in fighting mood.

The 26th CPSU Congress set us the task of ensuring an individual approach in ideological education. We are well aware that the struggle for the triumph of communist ideals is not only a struggle for the future of mankind. It is a struggle for the present and future of every individual.

*I.A. Anderson, secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee: "Certain Urgent Problems of Ideological Work"

In implementing the CPSU Central Committee decree "A Further Improvement in Ideological and Political Education" the Latvian party organization is drawing the main attention to the introduction of a comprehensive approach in the practice of the ideological work of the gorkoms and raykoms, primary party organizations and ideological establishments.

Comprehensive work has been initiated in all party organization on propaganda of the material of the 26th party congress, Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's report and the Main Directions of the USSR's Economic and Social Development in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990.

We are observing a number of positive changes in the practice of the party organizations' ideological work. It has been possible to stimulate to a considerable extent the participation of executive personnel and specialists in ideological work locally. Such new forms as uniform political days have become a part of practice. The work of the ideological commissions has improved. The methods training of the propagandists is being perfected. The Council for the Scientific Organization of Ideological Work has been set up and is operating under the auspices of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department. It has proposed a number of practical recommendations for streamlining the work of various components and its planning. There has been a change for the better in the activity of the mass information and propaganda media. A creative search is under way here for the development of urgent problems of economic, political and social life.

In a word, we are seeing concrete results of our work, although, of course, we understand that it is far from sufficiently effective and that use has not yet been made of much potential for its improvement.

Several problem issues need to be raised in the light of the tasks set by the 26th CPSU Congress. The importance of counterpropaganda has been emphasized repeatedly at the conference. Counterpropaganda is aimed, as is known, on helping Soviet people comprehend the events occurring in the world from the viewpoint of their class content and the interests behind them, under the conditions of the ideological struggle and the ideological sabotage of the class enemy.

In order to tackle this task successfully our counterpropaganda must acquire more profound content and be based on a comparison of the two worlds, two sociopolitical systems and two ways of life and a revelation of their

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fundamental differences, which is of tremendous significance for an understanding of the events which are occurring.

After all, it is no secret that in endeavoring to introduce confusion in the minds of the working people of the socialist countries the ideological enemy juggles with the facts, advertising the values of the capitalist world as a model for the socialist states. Such juggling forms the basis of the majority of ideological diversions.

The present generation of Soviet people, which has not lived under the conditions of capitalism, is insufficiently familiar with its intrinsic essence and various aspects of the bourgeois way of life.

Counterpropaganda's task is to help Soviet people comprehend in greater depth the processes occurring in the capitalist world, persuade themselves once again by visual demonstration of the advantages of our socialist way of life and to acquire ideological conditioning.

For this we need the assistance of the social scientists, particularly international affairs specialists. Various forms and areas of counterpropaganda ought to be made more purposeful and united within a system.

A few words about moral development. A system of ideological-political and occupational training has already taken shape. But there is not as yet a system of moral education; only disconnected forms thereof exist.

Yet moral education should contribute to the organization of public influence primarily in that part of the labor group which consists of the most passive people and stragglers, potential violators of the standards of public morals and transgressors, idlers, drunkards and so forth, and it is essential to employ mainly means of individual work here. We are contemplating the most thorough study of the experience of moral education available in the labor collectives in order to formulate on the basis thereof a system of means which might be used in practical activity.

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers recently adopted the important decree "Measures To Increase State Assistance to Families With Children".

It is well known that the demographic situation varies in different parts of the country and that there are regions where the problem of labor resources is becoming acute and where a number of other negative phenomena are emerging in connection with a decline in natural population growth. The Latvian SSR is among these.

The measures adopted by the party and the government to increase state assistance to families with children are of great significance. At the same time they must be supplemented with the ideological-educational work of the party and public organizations on an increase in the prestige of motherhood and the surmounting of the sometimes current negative opinion on the question of whether it is worth having and raising children. It is such work that we are attempting to perform in the republic.

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Raising children is a parental duty. However, in our socialist society it should be not only a duty but also people's spiritual need. For this it is necessary to create an atmosphere contributing to the growth of the prestige of a family with children and to value a woman not only as a progressive production worker but also as a caring mother. Increased concern for the family and children's upbringing is an important task of the labor collectives, the mass information and propaganda media and other ideological elements.

* Information on the Work of the Seminar-Conference's Sections

Together with the plenary sessions nine sections were organized at the all-union seminar-conference of ideological workers. Union and republic Communist Party central committee, kraykom, obkom, okruzhkom, gorkom and raykom secretaries, CPSU Central Committee machinery workers and ministry and department and central ideological establishment representatives participated.

The participants in the sections paid particular attention to problems of an improvement in the forms and methods of ideological and political education with regard for the singularities of the economic and cultural development of each, kray, oblast and okrug and questions of a further strengthening of the fraternal friendship of our country's peoples and an improvement in the working people's international and patriotic education.

Reports in the first section were delivered by A.T. Kuz'min, secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, A.U. Salimov, secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, Z.K. Kamalidenov, secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, G.N. Yenukidze, secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, I.A. Anderson, secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, K.N. Kulmatov, secretary of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee, P.P. Petrik, secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, L.K. Shepetis, secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, G.B. Bobosadykova, secretary of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee, G.A. Gasanov, secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, K.L. Dallakyan, secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, M.M. Mollayeva, secretary of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee, and R.E. Ristlaan, secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee. Their speeches are published in this collection.

Gorkom secretaries of the union republic capitals also spoke in the section. Kiyevskiy Gorkom Secretary T.V. Glavak spoke of the need for an increase in occupational training, the creation in each city and village and in each collective of a genuine cult of labor and an improvement in propaganda of the achievements of the production pacesetters of the fraternal socialist countries. Bakinskiy Gorkom Secretary A.N. Abbasov raised the question of the broader illustration of the positive experience of the country's republics and cities in the central press. Tashkentskiy Gorkom Secretary M.F. Soldatov expressed considerations concerning the need for the creation of textbooks and methods aids for propaganda personnel on worker pedagogics and

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ideological-political and moral education and concerning a strengthening of the physical plant of the ideological establishments. Yerevanskiy Gorkom Secretary A.A. Stepanyan emphasized the need for the in-depth development of the scientific methods bases of a comprehensive approach and expressed critical remarks leveled at the press, which is as yet only rarely treating the moral aspects of the activity of the production collectives under the conditions of the introduction of the brigade form of labor organization. Minskiy Gorkom Secretary N.S. Nerad said that it is necessary to increase the responsibility of the ministries and trade unions for ensuring people's normal work, social and recreational conditions and also that it is essential to create the material base for educational work in the new microregions. Kishinevskiy Gorkom Secretary Ye. V. Sobor emphasized the importance of the more active participation of gorkom and raykom sectorial departments in an improvement in ideological education.

Reports in the second section were delivered by T.I. Akhunzyanov, secretary of the Bashkirskiy Obkom, M.F. Valeyev, secretary of the Tatarskiy Obkom (his speech is published in this collection), A.A. Badiyev, secretary of the Buryatskiy Obkom, M.Kh. Kiuru, secretary of the Karel'skiy Obkom, A.F. Syutkin, secretary of the Komi Obkom, A.G. Kuchiyev, secretary of the Severo-Osetinskiy Obkom, N.I. Smirnova, secretary of the Udmurtskiy Obkom, M.O. Buzurtanov, secretary of the Checheno-Ingushskiy Obkom, K.Ye. Yusupov, secretary of the Karakalpakskiy Obkom, and V.I. Fedorov, secretary of the Yakutskiy Obkom.

The speakers shared their experience of the organization of ideological and political education and the introduction of a comprehensive approach to education in the autonomous republics.

A plan of scientific research into questions of the working people's communist education has been compiled and is being consistently implemented in Bashkiria, Tataria and Udmurtia. Scientists of these republics are participating actively in the development and implementation of plans of the socioeconomic development of the rayons, enterprises and establishments. Social ID's of the labor collectives containing extensive information on the workers, technical-economic indicators, data on personnel turnover and so forth are being compiled in the Komi ASSR, Buryatia and Northern Osetia. The practice of the program-goal planning of ideological work with its close linkage with the plans of the economic and social development of the labor collectives and rayons is being established. Sectorial departments of the party committees, soviet ispolkom departments, scientists and economic planners are being actively enlisted in the development of programs of communist education.

Research centers have been created in the party committees of Tataria and Udmurtia for study of the problems of the labor collective and the base party organizations have been determined for a number of most important areas of ideological work. Uniform political days and conferences on questions of the moral-political atmosphere in the labor collectives conducted by the managers (ideological [planerki]) have given a good account of themselves.

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Ideological worker schools are operating under party committee auspices, the training of party organization deputy secretaries according to the sectorial principle on the basis of the best party organizations has been organized and plans of the work of enterprise party organizations in sectorial departments with the participation of workers of the ideological departments are analyzed monthly in Karelia and Udmurtia. The following theoretical seminars have been organized in Chuvashia for the purpose of an improvement in the political briefing of lecturers and teachers: of VUZ and scientific establishment workers under the auspices of the obkom and of tekhnikum, college and school lecturers under raykom and gorkom auspices.

Long-term plans of measures for international education have been developed and are being implemented in the Severo-Osetinskaya and Checheno-Ingushskaya ASSR's. Marxist-Leninist theory of the nationality question is studied extensively in the system of party and Komsomol training and economic education. International friendship clubs operate at the working people's place of residence; and the publication of joint issues of rayon, oblast and republic newspapers of the North Caucasus is practiced.

The speakers spoke high-mindedly and self-critically about unsolved questions and gaps. It was noted that atheistic education was being conducted inadequately in certain areas. New, Soviet rites are not becoming a part of everyday life quickly enough. A stimulation of the struggle against the antipodes of communist morality and instances of the embezzlement of public property, lax management, bribe-taking, parasitism, drunkenness and hooliganism and a callous attitude toward people is required.

The following proposals were also expressed in the section: for assistance to be rendered the autonomous republics in the training of journalist personnel; concerning the need for an improvement in the agitator institution; on increased propaganda of the development of inter-nation relations in the USSR; and on an increase in exactingness toward ministries and departments with respect to questions of the comprehensive economic and social development of the rayons.

The participants in the third section concentrated their main attention on questions of an increase in the effectiveness of ideological education among rural workers, particularly in the RSFSR's nonchernozem zone. The speeches of Kostromskiy Obkom Secretary V.A. Tupichenkov (published in this collection), Vologodskiy Obkom Secretary V.A. Zhukov, Bryanskiy Obkom Secretary V.A. Smirnov and Orlovskiy Obkom Secretary A.I. Bachurin raised sharply the problem of the retention of the youth in the countryside and the training of workers of the mass occuaptions, primarily machine operators and milkers. The question was posed in this connection of coordination of the actions in this sphere of the USSR Ministry of Education and the vocational-technical education system.

Great attention was paid to the retention of personnel in animal husbandry--the shock front in the countryside. Aktyubinskiy Obkom Secretary M.P. Slinchenko described the introduction of social contracts between base enterprises and farms with sponsored schools for the training of rural

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occupation personnel and the creation of specialized youth brigades for work on the sheep farms. As Kirovskiy Obkom Secretary Yu. G. Karacharov observed, the practice of the formation of composite Komsomol-youth detachments, which are directed into animal husbandry, has given a good account of itself in Kirovskaya Oblast.

The obkom secretaries pointed to the need for a fundamental change in the attitude toward the construction of cultural establishments in the countryside and increased ministry and department responsibility for the building of schools and sports and cultural-everyday installations primarily in the nonchernozem oblasts. Ryazanksiy Obkom Secretary V.N. Shestopalov observed that when visiting the localities ministry leaders and workers rarely meet with the working people and confine themselves merely to meetings with officials. Many speakers spoke of the importance of an increase in the authority of the teacher in the countryside, the creation of the necessary conditions for him and the encouragement of and awards to the best.

Developing the theme of the unity of organizing, economic and educational work, Vladimirskiy Obkom Secretary N.I. Shagov and other obkom secretaries observed that it is necessary to raise the responsibility of the central departments for the organization of the economic training of the working people of the corresponding sectors, particularly in the countryside, and a long-term plan of this work.

Wishes were expressed in the section for a streamlining of the staffs and a regulation of the status of rayon workers of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting and an improvement in the training of journalists for rayonnewspapers, and the restoration of the journalism departments in the party schools was proposed, inter alia.

Various aspects of a further improvement in ideological work in the light of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's instructions were addressed in the fourth section by Altayskiy Kraykom Secretary A.N. Nevskiy (his speech is published in this collection), Dnepropetrovskiy Obkom Secretary I.V. Vasil'yev, Sverdlovskiy Obkom Secretary V.A. Zhitenev, Khabarovskiy Kraykom Secretary V.I. Stepanov, Orenburgskiy Obkom Secretary B.N. Shevarshov, Kemerovskiy Obkom Secretary P.M. Dorofeyev, Permskiy Obkom Secretary I.P. Bykova, Dzhezkazganskiy Obkom Secretary D.A. Aralbayev, Donetskiy Obkom Secretary G.P. Yerkhov, Novosibirskiy Obkom Secretary L.F. Kolesnikov and Chelyabinskiy Obkom Secretary N.I. Sonnov.

The speakers consider the audience's participation in the substantiation of socialist pledges and personal savings accounts and the adoption of decisions on questions of the life of the labor collectives a striking indicator of the effectiveness of party training and economic education and of the strengthening of the connection with practice. Forms and methods of ideological support for the development of the key sectors of industry, construction, transport and agriculture were discussed with interest. Party workers of Altayskiy Kray and Permskaya, Sverdlovskaya, Chelyabinskaya and other oblasts described how the 26th CPSU Congress' appeal "The Economy Must be Economical" is being realized.

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Interesting experience of a differentiated approach to propaganda and agitation with regard for the singularities and the nature of the activity of different categories of the population has been accumulated in Sverdlovskaya (ideological workers' creative meetings with brigade leaders, foremen and shop chiefs) and Donetskaya (the organization of systematic speeches to listeners by obkom secretaries and bureau members and other oblast executives) oblasts and in Khabarovskiy Kray (the organization of propaganda and agitation with regard for the specific conditions of the activity of geologists, sailors, hunters and lumberjacks).

The speakers highlighted as an essential facet of a comprehensive approach to ideological work the use of economic and organizational factors of the working people's education. Thus it was a question of the great educational effect of the brigade form of the organization of labor in Dnepropetrovskaya and Sverdlovskaya oblasts; of the development of the active use of a system of the introduction of progressive experience in Donetskaya Oblast; and of the high educational role of socialist competition in Altayskiy Kray. The section participants familiarized themselves with great interest with the Dnepropetrovskiy Obkom's experience of the development and application of a single system of the control of ideological work and the performance of sociological research.

The following wishes were also expressed in the section: for a significant reduction in the number of different conferences, reviews, competitions and so forth; for an increase in the role of the sectorial departments of the party committees and management authorities in work with people; for the development of the universal primary pedagogical education of parents; for the development of ways and methods of the inculcation of reasonable requirements under the conditions of the constant growth of well-being; and for the creation of a single system of economic education and training in the home, the school and the labor group.

The participants in the fifth section shared experience of the comprehensive planning of ideological work. Nikolayevskiy Obkom Secretary V.A. Vasil'yev described the activity of the oblast staff with respect to ideological support for agricultural operations and the biggest and most crucial construction projects like, for example, the South Ukraine AES. Ul'yanovskiy Obkom Secretary V.N. Sverkalov and Kustanayskiy Obkom Secretary I.A. Basov described the practice of the preparation of questions of ideological work at raykoms and gorkom bureau meetings and plenums and the work of the ideological commissions.

Leaders' increased responsibility for education's closest connection with organizing and management practice was described by Kzyl-Ordinskiy Obkom Secretary D. Aydarov; the increased role and responsibility of the party committees' sectorial departments in ideological-educational and ideological work was described by Kuybyshevskiy Obkom Secretary N.N. Panov.

Questions of a rise in the theoretical level of party training occupied a large place in the speeches in the section. It was said that the social sciences as yet basically deal with a study of the past, while problems of modern social development and the prospects of the dynamics of the Soviet society are being examined insufficiently deeply and comprehensively.

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A number of speeches emphasized the need for an improvement in supervision of the teaching of the social sciences in the VUZ's and the strengthening of social scientist personnel. Odesskiy Obkom Secretary G.D. Maksimenko shared experience of the briefing of VUZ workers on the most important political problems.

Mention was made in the section of the positive significance which the introduction of uniform political days has exerted on the content of ideological work and its actualization.

Gur'yevskiy Obkom Secretary A. Kenzhebayev described the practice of the holding of ideological operational meetings at which there is a discussion of the state of labor discipline, the creation of a healthy moral-psychological atmosphere in the collective and the course of fulfillment of socialist pledges and shop chief reports on educational work are received. Krasnodarskiy Kraykom Secretary A. Solodukhin described the experience of work with ideological personnel.

The participants in the section focused attention on the need for the use of active methods in propaganda and agitation which involve the audience in a dialogue and prompt reflection on pressing, urgent questions of people's real life.

A request was expressed for more effective assistance on the part of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences to the party committees in the study of public opinion, an analysis of concrete ideological situations and recommendations of a procedural nature.

The questions discussed in the sixth section concerned the reorganization of ideological work in the light of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress.

The participants in the sectional meeting heard reports from Belgorodskiy Obkom Secretary V.P. Sobolev, Khar'kovskiy Obkom Secretary V.A. Ivashko (his speech is published in this collection), Volynskiy Obkom Secretary A.G. Martynov, Cherkasskiy Obkom Secretary G.V. Sukhovershko, Samarkandskiy Obkom Secretary Kh. N. Normuradov, Chardzhouskiy Obkom Secretary I. Murtazakunov, Ivano-Frankovskiy Obkom Secretary P.D. Sardachuk, Sumskiy Obkom Secretary I.Ya. Makhukin, Vinnitskiy Obkom Secretary G. Ya. Burtyan and Grodnenskiy Obkom Secretary Ye. Ye. Yemel'yanova.

The participants in the section drew attention to the need to impart aggressiveness to ideological work, a differentiated approach to different categories of the population, the stimulation of all forms of work along "Znaniye" Society lines, the more active use of visual agitation in the labor collectives and a reorganization of the work of the committee rooms and voters' clubs.

The speakers shared experience of long-term and current planning of ideological work and described the improvement in ideological-political, occupational and moral education and mass-political work in the collectives and at the place of residence in the light of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress.

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The participants in the seventh section focused the main attention on questions of an increase in the efficiency of the ideological activity of the party organizations and the struggle against bourgeois ideology and the hostile propaganda of the imperialist centers and Beijing hegemonists under the specific conditions of the border areas. Primorskiy Kraykom Secretary D. Safronov, Alma-Atinskiy Obkom Secretary I.B. Baltagulov, Ashkhabadskiy Obkom Secretary T. Amangel'diyev, L'vovskiy Obkom Secretary D.A. Yaremchuk, Brestskiy Obkom Secretary V.I. Boris, Kaliningradskiy Obkom Secretary K.F. Shchekin (his speech is published in this collection) and Oshskiy Obkom Secretary B.R. Ryspayev, who spoke at the meeting, exchanged experience of the reorganization of individual components of the system of political, moral and occupational education and the quest for new forms of the patriotic and international education of the working people, particularly the youth. There was mention of the need in this connection for the creative development of comprehensive plans of political education and a careful consideration of national singularities and the mentality, level of education and nature of activity of people.

The participants in the section apprehended with interest the experience of the Primorskiy Kraykom and Kaliningradskiy Obkom on the organization of political education among the seamen of the merchant and fishing fleets, who spend a long time in navigation far from native shores, and the experience of work among the youth of the L'vovskiy Obkom and among the rural population of the Alma-Atinskiy and Oshskiy obkoms.

There was emphasis in the section of the importance of class education and the inculcation of interest in political knowledge in the younger generation, the use to this end of more modern organizational forms of the political briefing of the working people and an increase in work at the place of residence and at places of recreation. Mention was made of the need for more attention to be paid to the struggle against vestiges of the past and reactionary clerical currents and to propaganda of the principles of scientific atheism and work among women.

The importance of the more extensive use in the party organizations' practical activity of the results of studies in the sphere of the social sciences and the enlistment of scientists in the work of the party committees' ideological commissions and in the development of comprehensive plans and concrete propaganda and counterpropaganda measures was pointed out.

The eighth section discussed questions of an improvement in political education, agitation-mass work, education of the urban population at the place of residence and the development of scientific research activityin the sphere of party propaganda. Reports on these questions were delivered by Sverdlovskiy Gorkom Secretary V.V. Andrianov, Tyndinskiy Gorkom Secretary G.A. Cherkasov (the speeches are published in this collection), Krivorozhskiy Gorkom Secretary G.S. Osadchuk, Gor'kovskiy Gorkom Secretary Yu. A. Marchenkov, Novosibriskiy Gorkom Secretary I.F. Tsyplakov, Dnepropetrovskiy Gorkom Secretary L.M. Tonyuk, Naberezhnochelninskiy Gorkom Secretary L.V. Shilova, Brestskiy Gorkom Secretary V.A. Churo (his speech is published in this collection), Rostovskiy Gorkom Secretary G.V. Osipenko and Khar'kovskiy Gorkom Secretary A.A. Gorshkov. The speakers exchanged experience of the party committees'

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activity with respect to the creation of social-pedagogical complexes, the analysis of the production and social activity of the labor collectives, the state of the moral-political climate in them, introduction of the best experience of ideological work and of the organization of counterpropaganda groups.

The participants in the section spoke of the need for agitators to be oriented toward differentiated work with the individual categories of the working people and a stimulation of the propaganda of positive example in production and social activity and everyday life. The importance of the intensification of educational work among the creative intelligentsia and the more extensive enlistment of scientists in the development of forms and methods of communist education was emphasized.

The ninth section examined questions of ideological education in the autonomous oblasts and okrugs.

V.T. Martynov, secretary of the obkom of the Jewish Autonomous Oblast, described the organization of ideological education with regard for the specific singularities of the oblast, its border situation and national composition (uniform political days, sociopolitical readings, meetings with delegates to the 26th CPSU Congress and the creation in remote centers of population of propaganda groups and political information worker groups under gorkom and raykom auspices and agitation campaign convoys).

In their speeches Nagorno-Karabakhskiy Obkom Secretary Ye.G. Sarkisyan, Yugo-Osetinskiy Obkom Secretary A.G. Parastayev, Evenkiyskiy Okruzhkom Secretary Yu. P. Gordeyev and Komi-Permyatskiy Okruzhkom Secretary Yu.P. Zubov spoke of the practice of the preparation and holding of uniform political days, the extensive participation therein of party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol workers and managers and of the sharp and prompt reaction to the working people's critical observations and proposals.

An important place in the work of the section was occupied by questions of ideological support for the accomplishment of economic and social tasks and the participation of management personnel in educational work. This was described by Adygeyskiy Obkom Secretary A.S. Kushu and Ust'-Ordynskiy Okruzhkom Secretary R.A. Mitenova (their speeches are published in this collection).

The ideological commission of the okruzhkom--such was the subject of Nenetskiy Okruzhkom Secretary P.T. Khantazeyskiy's speech. The practice of work at the place of residence was described by Gorno-Badakhshanskiy Obkom Secretary P. Dzhumayeva, and Gorno-Altayskiy Obkom Secretary B.K. Alushkin shared experience of the work with stockbreeders. Karachayevo-Cherkesskiy Obkom Secretary S.Kh. Semenov reported on measures to strengthen ideological-political and international education.

The participants in the section paid great attention to questions of the consideration of local, including national, singularities in educational work and of a differentiated approach to different categories of the population.

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